

UNIVERSITY
OF
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
STUDIES

FIRST SERIES

NUMBER 1

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT
OF 1 HENRY VI

IN RELATION TO SHAKESPEARE, MARLOWE, PEELE, AND
GREENE

BY

ALLISON GAW, Ph.D.

CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH,
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

PUBLISHED BY THE
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

1926

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PREFACE

The following study of the date, the authorship, and the early history of *1 Henry VI* was begun late in 1919. The massing of the evidence concerning the date of first production, and the treatment of the involved inferences concerning Shakespeare's relations to the Strange and the Pembroke companies, were concluded in the following year, and a part of the investigation was presented as a paper before the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Philological Association in November, 1920. The work as a whole, so far as then completed, was read by my friend, the late Dr. Raymond M. Alden, and the therein contained conclusions as to Shakespeare's relations to the Pembroke company were recorded by him in a note in the Bibliography to his volume, *Shakespeare*, which appeared in the *Master Spirits of Literature* series in 1922. Meanwhile, during the analysis of the evidence as to the authorship, the material had so accumulated as to make it difficult to find a fitting channel of publication.

The problem under investigation, involving as it does four original authors whose work is further overlaid with two, if not three, stages of later revision, is probably as complex as is to be found anywhere in Shakespearean textual criticism. This fact, especially in view of the importance of the play in connection with the whole question of Shakespeare's early dramatic authorship and with the emphasis that has long been laid on it in relation to Greene's attitude toward him in *A Groatworth of Wit*, has seemed to make it necessary that the evidence should be given in full detail. I have therefore resolutely resisted the temptation to abridge the material here presented, and have included at length all pertinent facts and considerations. The appearance in 1923 of Dr. J. Q. Adams' *Life of Shakespeare*, in which he brilliantly advances similar views as to Shakespeare's relations with the Pembroke company, has made stress on that aspect of the subject less necessary than previously, but that material also has been allowed to stand as originally written.

It will be evident to anyone who may peruse the following

pages that my principal obligations are to Fleay, whose belief as to the original quadruple authorship of the play proves right in general theory, although quite erroneous in detail; to Dr. Tucker Brooke, whose researches in the Marlowe canon are fundamental to some of my own conclusions; and to Dr. J. Q. Adams, without whose *Shakespearean Playhouses* much of this work would have been impossible. Mr. E. K. Chambers' encyclopaedic volumes on *The Elizabethan Stage* appeared too late for me to avail myself of their aid in reaching the conclusions herein contained, but I have recorded in my footnotes references to his attitude on some of the chief points involved and have followed him as to the exact location of the Globe Theatre.

Among my colleagues at the University of Southern California my cordial thanks are due to Dr. John D. Cooke, of the English Department; to Dr. Herbert D. Austin, of the Department of Romance Languages; and to Dr. Homer A. Watt, chairman of the English Department in Washington Square College of New York University, and exchange Professor in English at the University of Southern California for the year 1925-26. All three of these gentlemen have painstakingly read the work in proof and have given me the benefit of their interested criticism. The helpfulness of all the members of the University Committee on Research Publications is also gratefully acknowledged.

ALLISON GAW.

Los Angeles, May 1, 1926.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS.....	1
II.	THE ORIGINAL ORGANIZATION, STAGING, AND DATE OF THE PLAY.....	12
III.	THE PROBLEM OF THE AUTHORSHIP.....	64
	i. The <i>A</i> . Scenes.....	72
	(<i>a</i>) I, i, 1-101, 147-77.....	88
	(<i>b</i>) III, i.....	92
	(<i>c</i>) V, i.....	93
	(<i>d</i>) III, iv <i>b</i> , and IV, iv.....	98
	(<i>e</i>) II, v.....	101
	ii. The <i>B</i> . Scenes.....	108
	(<i>a</i>) B's Talbot Scenes.....	108
	(<i>b</i>) First Appearance of Joan of Arc.....	116
	(<i>c</i>) B. Scenes of mixed Authorship.....	118
	iii. The <i>D</i> . Scenes.....	124
	(<i>a</i>) The Talbot Death Series, IV, v-vii.....	126
	(<i>b</i>) The Talbot Death Series, IV, ii-iv.....	131
	(<i>c</i>) The Fate of Joan and the Conclusion of Peace.....	135
	iv. The <i>C</i> . Scenes.....	141
	v. Survey of Conclusions with Regard to Authorship.....	145
	vi. The Dates of the Revisions and Their Rela- tion to Shakespeare's Biography.....	146
	vii. The Relation of the Folio Scene Division to the Authorship.....	158
IV.	GENERAL CONCLUSIONS: THE PROBLEMS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP.....	162
	LIST OF AUTHORITIES CITED.....	169
	LIST OF REPRODUCTIONS OF VIEWS OF ELIZABETHAN THEATRES.....	172
	INDEX.....	175

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF *1 HENRY VI*

I

THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS

The First Part of King Henry the Sixth is the earliest play in the Shakespearean canon as to whose date of first production we have a piece of direct, although not uniformly interpreted, evidence. This date, if proved correct, antedates by three years the earliest record of Shakespeare's connection with the Strange-Hunsdon-Chamberlain players, or, as they are frequently called, "Shakespeare's company"; it antedates by five years the earliest record of a play undoubtedly wholly Shakespeare's as having been produced by that company; it antedates by five years the earliest publication of a play under Shakespeare's name. Further, Shakespeare's additions to this play have been considered by some to constitute a distinct phase in his apprenticeship as an author; and they are also important in the interpretation of Greene's attack upon "Shake-scene" in *A Groatsworth of Wit*, the earliest allusion to Shakespeare as a writer. Finally, the problem has an important relation to one of the most intricate questions in Shakespearean scholarship, the origins of 2 and 3 *Henry VI*. For all of these reasons the problems surrounding the origin of *1 Henry VI* are of marked importance in any consideration of Shakespeare's life and of his growth in artistry.

Yet, in general, much less study has been given to the origins of the first member of the *Henry VI* trilogy than to those of the second and third members. This is largely because in the case of 2 and 3 *Henry VI* the existence of three separate stages, all with known latest dates, in the growth of each, gives a convenient starting point for investigation. In *Part I* all the stages lie *perdu* in the fully developed basic text, that of the First Folio; and there has been considerable difference of opinion as to whether the recorded date is that of the first production of the play or of a revised version; so that clearly defined stages of growth and unquestionable dates have both been wanting. It is the purpose of

the first part of this study to assemble all the facts, internal and external, that may throw light upon the question of the date of original production of the play, including some peculiar features that have hitherto escaped notice as to the Elizabethan staging of the drama; and to employ these facts to solve the problem of its date of original composition. We shall then discuss the original authorship of the play, the relation of *Part 1* to 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, the date and authorship of the revision, and the light that these results throw upon Shakespeare's early theatrical affiliations.

The recorded facts concerning the earliest known performance of a *Henry VI* play are as follows: Early in 1592 Philip Henslowe entered in his *Diary*¹ items of expense clearly indicating the extensive rebuilding and adornment of his Bankside theatre, the Rose, in preparation for its occupancy by the company of actors at that time known as Lord Strange's Men. This company was managed and headed by the famous Edward Alleyn, then about twenty-five years of age and recognized as the greatest tragic actor of the day.² Its other important members were Richard

¹ Ed. of W. W. Greg, I, 7-10. Cf. discussion, *ibid.*, II, 46-50, and J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, 148-50.

² The principal documents for the composition of the company at this period are their warrant from the Privy Council on May 6, 1593, and the *plat* of *2 Seven Deadly Sins* (the latter, with discussion by Mr. W. W. Greg, to be found in *Henslowe Papers*, 129-32, 152). Mr. E. K. Chambers believes (*Elizabethan Stage*, II, 125; cf. 138, 198, 392) that the *plat* dates from a hypothetical performance of about 1590, his reason being that Richard Burbage would not have been acting with the company at the Rose since they had left his father's house, the Theatre, as a result of financial disputes. But the dispute in question had occurred in May, 1591, and the Strange company, headed by Alleyn, did not go to the Rose until February 19, 1592, some nine months later. It is therefore unlikely that there was any connection between the two. Further, as Mr. Chambers himself points out, in 1590 Richard Burbage, then but about twenty-two years old, was apparently playing only messenger parts, while in the *2 Seven Deadly Sins* he has risen to the dignity of the two principal tragic rôles of Gorboduc and Tereus; and although not called *Mr.* in the *plat* (a title apparently reserved for the sharers in the company), he is yet always mentioned in full as *Richard Burbage*, in contrast to the initials and abbreviations that appear in the majority of cases. There is also other reason to connect the *plat* of *2 Seven Deadly Sins* with the 1592 date only. The full performance of the orig-

Burbage, who was already acting principal tragic parts; Augustus Philips; Thomas Pope; George Bryan; probably William Kempe, the famous clown; and about nine other adult actors and six boys. The company, the strongest theatrical organization then before the English public, was that to which Shakespeare belonged some three years later. They opened at the Rose on Saturday, February 19, 1591-2, in a repertoire of twenty-one plays, including Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* and its fore-piece, the *Comedy of Jeronimo*, and Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and *Orlando Furioso*; and to this list of twenty-one were added in the ensuing four months five other plays, either

inal *Seven Deadly Sins* must have occupied two days and was probably given in series, as is indicated by the record in the Court accounts of payments to the Queen's Men for what was probably the same material, *Five Plays in One* and *Three Plays in One*, on the consecutive appearances of the company at Court on January 6 and February 21, 1585 (Chambers, IV, 101, 160). But the performance for which the *plat* was prepared was that of a special *four-in-one* combination made up of the parts illustrating Envy, Sloth, and Lechery appearing as visions to King Henry VI in prison, the King's own situation forming the introduction, the connecting links, and the conclusion. This new combination of the parts for a single performance on March 6, 1592, was obviously a hasty attempt on the part of the company to find another Henry VI play with which to follow up the very successful *harey the vj*, the first production of which had occurred only three days before. (Cf. p. 27, n. 34.) Since the company did not repeat *2 Seven Deadly Sins*, it probably did not effectively serve their purpose. As, therefore, there is reason to believe that the *2 Seven Deadly Sins* was especially arranged as *Four Plays in One* for this season under these especial conditions; as there is no evidence that the play was ever again staged, and the *plat* was found among the papers of the actor-manager Alleyn, who left the company some two years later and evidently then considered it worthless to them; as seven of the actors fully named in the *plat* are identified with the later history of the Strange-Chamberlain Men, and at least five more, mentioned in the paper by first name only, are reasonably to be identified with others of the company also so connected; and as Burbage is already well advanced beyond his standing in 1590 and (if "Nick" of the *plat* be indeed Nicholas Tooley) had apparently already his apprentice;—it would seem that the *plat* should be connected with the only known performance of that play, that of March 6, 1592, and the actors mentioned considered as constituting the company at that date. The name of Alleyn does not appear, probably because the manager did not care to take part in a play without a dominating rôle.

new or newly revised, as indicated by the *ne* that Henslowe prefixed to the entry of the first production of each. Henslowe was financially interested in each performance of the company at his theatre, and he records each play presented at the successive performances from the opening date of their season on February 19, to their closing, under a general disciplinary order of the Privy Council closing all theatres, on June 23, 1592. He supplies a similar record for them during a shorter succeeding season from December 29, 1592, to February 1, 1592-3,³ at which last mentioned date they were closed on account of the plague.

The first of the new plays produced by the company at the Rose was entered by Henslowe in the *Diary* on Friday, March 3, 1591-2, thus:

ne...R̄ at harey the vj the 3 of marche 1591...iij^{ll} xvj^s 8^d.

This *harey the vj* immediately became the most remunerative play of the company. In the season of 105 performances between February 19 and June 22 it was produced no fewer than fourteen times,⁴ the other plays averaging but three and one-half performances each, and its nearest competitors, *The Jew of Malta*, *Muly Mollocco* (probably Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*), and *The Spanish Tragedy*, having but ten, eleven, and thirteen performances, respectively, to their credit. Further, it is significant that Henslowe's receipts (equal, Mr. Greg believes,⁵ to one-half of the gallery receipts), which had averaged only 22s. 11d. for the eleven

³ *Diary, ed. cit.*, I, 13-16.

⁴ This includes one performance rather ambiguously entered by Henslowe:

R̄ at harey the 16th of marche 1591...xxxj s vj d.

This Mr. Greg interprets (*Diary*, II, 151) as a reference to *Harry of Cornwall*, but in every other case *Harry of Cornwall* is named in full, while here the similarity of sound between *the Sixth* and the date *the sixteenth* has evidently caused the slip of the pen. Moreover, the construing of this entry as *Harry of Cornwall* leaves the popular *harey the vj*, which had been given at four and five day intervals, with an unaccountable gap of seventeen days before the next performance, while if it is construed as referring to *harey the vj*, the lowered receipts for this performance account for the ensuing eleven-day gap.

⁵ *Diary*, II, 133-34.

performances of the company between February 19 and March 2, leaped to 78s. 5d. on the occasion of the first performance of *harey the vj* on March 3; and while this may be in part due to increased admission charges on the opening date of a new play, it yet remains true that, though the receipts for the remaining plays for the season, including the popular *Jew*, the *Spanish Tragedy*, and four other new plays, averaged only 33s. 8d., those for *harey the vj* averaged 40s. 11d.

Aside from Henslowe's *Diary* there is other evidence of the popularity of the play. In his *Piers Penniless*, which was entered in the Stationers' Register five months later (August 8, 1592), Thomas Nashe, in a section in defence of stage plays, wrote as follows:

"...Nay, what if I proove Playes to be no extreame; but a rare exercise of vertue? First, for the subject of them (for the most part) it is borrowed out of our English Chronicles, wherein our forefathers valiant actes (that have lien long buried in rustie brass and worme-eaten bookes) are revived, and they themselves raysed from the Grave of Oblivion, and brought to pleade their aged Honour in open presence: than which, what can be a sharper reproofe to these degenerate effeminate dayes of ours?

"How much would it have joyed brave *Talbot* (the terror of the French) to thinke that after he had lyen two hundred years in his Toomb, he should triumph againe on the Stage, and have his bones new embalmed with the teares of ten thousand spectators at least, (at several times) who, in the Tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding."⁶

Now, "*harey the vj*" is, of course, *Henry VI*; and *1 Henry VI*, later published in the First Folio by authority of the survivors of the company that was known in 1592 as Lord Strange's Men, contains in Act IV a series of scenes culminating in the heroic death of Lord Talbot and is the only extant play in which Talbot appears. Further, Nashe's references, some six weeks after the end of the February 19-June 22 season of *Strange's Men*, to the "ten thousand spectators at least" who had wept Talbot's fate very well fits what we know of the play, its popularity, and the

⁶ Nashe, *Complete Works*, ed. Grosart, II, 88-89.

capacity of the Elizabethan theatre.⁷ The identity of *1 Henry VI* with Henslowe's *harey the vj* therefore immediately suggests itself, and of later years has been very generally accepted. That the assumption is one of uncertain validity is asserted by Ward⁸ and echoed by Rolfe.⁹ On the contrary, of the other two principal historians of the drama of the period, Dr. Felix E. Schelling¹⁰ calls Nashe's statement "all but certain evidence," and Dr. C. F. Tucker Brooke accepts it without hesitation,¹¹ as does also Mr. W. W. Greg.¹² Certain it is that, with the exception of the single performance of *2 Seven Deadly Sins* on March 6,¹³ Strange's Men were acting no other play concerning Henry VI or Talbot between February 19, 1592, and February 1, 1593, for Henslowe carefully distinguishes the plays he enters, as in the case of the two *Jeronimo* plays. Since *1 Henry VI* was later (1623) published by the survivors of Strange's Men as their property, there would therefore appear, if *harey the vj* and *1 Henry VI* are totally separate and unrelated plays, to be only four possibilities. *1 Henry VI* might theoretically have been (1) written earlier than March, 1592, by a group including Shakespeare, or (2) written by one or more and amplified by Shakespeare before March, 1592. Both of these hypotheses seem impossible (*a*) because such writing must have occurred a considerable time before 1592 (or wherefore should the company so soon substitute *harey the vj* for it?) and it is evident from Greene's and Chettle's statements of late 1592

⁷ Without being meticulous with regard to a statement so generalized as that of Nashe, it may be pointed out that his figures give an average of a little over seven hundred spectators a performance; that DeWitt, in his description of the somewhat larger Swan theatre in 1595, states that its capacity was three thousand; and that Mr. Greg (*Diary*, II, 134 n.) calculates that an average receipt by Henslowe of 30s. indicates an average attendance of 1500, or almost double the average called for by the statement in *Piers Penniless*. Nashe's figures are conservative.

⁸ *History of English Dramatic Literature*, II, 58.

⁹ Ed. *1 Henry VI*, 10.

¹⁰ *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 264; cf. also his *English Chronicle Play*, 39-40, 95.

¹¹ *Tudor Drama*, 313, 315; also in the Yale ed. of the play, 133-34.

¹² Henslowe's *Diary*, I, 52.

¹³ See above, p. 2, n. 2, and below, p. 27, n. 34.

that Shakespeare was then only beginning to attract attention; (b) because, as will be shown, all the evidence goes to prove that no part of *1 Henry VI* antedates the occupancy of the Rose by Strange's Men in 1592; and (c) because, as will be shown, in the main the passages in *1 Henry VI* interpolated or rewritten by Shakespeare came from his pen so late as 1599. Again, theoretically *1 Henry VI* might have been (3) written for, or (4) purchased by, Strange's Men, later than March, 1592. This seems similarly impossible, as it is inconceivable that the company would have totally thrown aside their very successful Talbot-play, *harey the vj*, and substituted for it *1 Henry VI*, a Talbot-play wholly new and of a similar name, at a date so soon after 1592 as would be necessitated by the crudeness of the play included within the present Shakespeare canon and by the fact that, despite Shakespeare's interest in the *Henry IV-Henry VI* sequence, *1 Henry VI* is certainly his in small part only. The sole remaining and only real possibility, then, would appear to be (5) that the *harey the vj* of 1592 was identical with *1 Henry VI*, either in the original or in a revised form. The following pages will, in part by the production of new evidence, attempt to decide the question whether this date, 1592, was that of the first production of *harey the vj* or that of the revision which we call *1 Henry VI*.

Before attacking our main problem, however, we must first glance at the allied problem of 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, which more or less complicates the question of *Part 1*. Parallel with 2 and 3 *Henry VI* there exist two cruder plays. In one of these, *The First Part of the Contention of the two Famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, (entered in the Stationers' Register, March 12, 1593, and printed in 1594) almost half of the lines are in part or in whole identical with lines in 2 *Henry VI* (not published until 1623). In the other, *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke* (printed in 1595), almost two-thirds of the lines similarly correspond with lines in 3 *Henry VI* (also not published until 1623). Both of these cruder plays were reprinted in 1600 without essential variations and in 1619 were reprinted in a single quarto with a number of more or less trivial alterations. The 1595 title-page of the *True Tragedie* bore also the information

that it had been "sundrie times acted by the Right Honourable Earle of Pembroke his Servants." We have no direct evidence, outside of the fact that 2 and 3 *Henry VI* were included in the First Folio of Shakespeare, to what company any of the other three plays originally belonged. True, in the Epilogue to *Henry V*, produced between April and October of 1599, and either at the Curtain Theatre or the newly erected Globe, Shakespeare ends with the words:

Henry the Sixt, in Infant Bands crown'd King
Of France and England, did this King succeed:
Whose State so many had the managing,
That they lost France, and made his England bleed:
Which oft our Stage hath showne; and for their sake,
In your faire minds let this acceptance take.²⁴

In this passage it is reasonable to believe that the words *our Stage* are intended to apply primarily to productions on the stage of Shakespeare's own company; but while the plays referred to in the parenthetical *Which oft our Stage hath showne* are generally considered by commentators to be, and probably are, all three *Parts* of *Henry VI*, yet the conditions of the reference are not satisfied by *Parts* 2 and 3 alone and are completely satisfied by *Part* 1. In *Part* 1 France is lost as entirely as at any point in the series, for the other two *Parts* concern themselves with the struggles of the English factions at home; the King, "crown'd in Infant Bands," is throughout impersonated by a child, whereas the condition of infancy disappears with the adult actor of *Part* 2; and in the phrase *for their sake* the pronoun *their* (which is clearly personal, and which it is absurd to interpret as referring to the plurality of the impersonal three *Parts*) takes as its natural grammatical antecedent the *many*, the characters which the extremely popular *First Part* had endeared to the audience. Attention should also be called to the fact—which, I think, has never before been noted in this connection—that in *Henry V*, IV, iii, 51-55, Shakespeare places in the mouth of King Henry, on the eve of the battle of Agincourt, the names of seven heroes who are to participate in the morrow's fight; of whom only six are characters in the play of

²⁴ Quoted in the text of the First Folio, which is taken as the basis for quotation in general throughout this study.

Henry V, the seventh, Talbot, being introduced without either historical warrant¹⁵ or dramatic necessity. Shakespeare here evidently went out of his way to capitalize the popularity of Talbot. He was clearly utilizing the familiarity of his audiences with the only play dealing with Talbot—*1 Henry VI*, whether as yet revised or unrevised from the *harey the vj* form—seven years after its first known production. The Epilogue to *Henry V* is no evidence that 2 and 3 *Henry VI* were ever performed by Shakespeare's company or even that they ever existed; but the allusions to *Part 1* both in it and in the passage IV, iii, 51-55, seem unmistakable.

The intricate question of the relations between *The Contention*, *The True Tragedie*, and the *Second* and *Third Parts* as accepted in 1910 may be summarized in the words of Professor Neilson¹⁶: "The following positions may now be regarded as accepted by the safer modern critics: (1) that *The First Part of the Contention* and *The True Tragedie* are the earlier plays; (2) that these are the work of several authors, including Marlowe and Greene, and perhaps Peele; (3) that 2 and 3 *Henry VI* are a revision by Shakespeare of the other two plays. Opinion is still divided on these two points: (1) Whether Shakespeare had a hand in the earlier two plays; (2) whether he had the assistance of Marlowe in the revision. Miss J. Lee's conclusion is as follows: 'I believe that Shakespeare was the author of *Henry VI, Parts 2* and *3*, and that there is some ground for believing that Marlowe was his fellow-worker; that *Henry VI, Parts 2* and *3*, were written about the year 1590; that they were not original plays, but were founded on . . . *The Contention* and *The True Tragedie*; and that Marlowe and Greene, and possibly Peele, were the writers of these older plays, which were written some time, perhaps some years, before 2 and 3 *Henry VI*.' The most important modification of this view by later critics is in the direction of finding Shakespearean elements in the two earlier plays, especially in the scenes in which Jack Cade plays a part. This may be accounted for either by supposing that Shakespeare had an

¹⁵ Cf. Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, 187.

¹⁶ Cambridge Shakespeare (third edition, 1910), p. 634.

incidental part in them when they were first composed, or (as is perhaps more likely) that 'passages in the impressions of 1594 and 1595 of the two old plays were borrowed for use from the *Second* and *Third Parts* as then performed on the stage.' (Ward.) The chief objection to the former alternative lies in the charge of plagiarism implied in a famous passage of Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*; which, being undoubtedly aimed at Shakespeare, tends, but not conclusively, to exclude him from collaboration in the plays to which Greene is supposed to allude as the source of the plagiarism."

In 1912 Dr. C. F. Tucker Brooke,¹⁷ through a careful examination of the external and internal evidence relating to *The Contention* and *The True Tragedie*, and especially of a series of forty-three groups of parallel passages strongly typical of Marlowe and interweaving those plays with the entire list of Marlowe's undoubted dramas, proved conclusively, to my mind, his thesis that both of those plays were originally the sole work of Marlowe. He also maintained that 2 and 3 *Henry VI* are based upon more perfect transcripts of the earlier Marlowan plays, and that the revision was solely the work of Shakespeare.

Finally, to complete our review of all the possible external evidence bearing on our subject, the passage in Greene so frequently referred to in this entire connection must be quoted in full. In a passage in *A Groatsworth of Wit Bought with a Million of Repentaunce*, written immediately before his death on September 3, 1592, and licensed posthumously on September 20, Greene addressed his fellow playwrights, Marlowe, Lodge or Nashe, and Peele, thus:

"Base minded men all three of you, if by my miserie ye be not warned: for unto none of you (like me) sought those burres to cleave: those Puppits (I meane) that speake from our mouths, those Anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to whom they al have beene beholding: is it not like that you, to whome they all have beene beholding, shall (were ye in that case that I am now) be both at once of them forsaken? Yes trust them not; for there is an upstart Crow,

¹⁷ *The Authorship of the Second and Third Parts of "King Henry VI,"* published in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XVII, 141-211 (July, 1912).

beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide*, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and being an absolute *Johannes fac totum*, is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrie. O that I might intreate your rare wits to be imployed in more profitable courses: & let those Apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions.”²⁸

The belief that in this passage Greene is charging Shakespeare with plagiarism centres about the pun in “Shake-scene” and the fact that the line “Tiger’s heart wrapt in a woman’s hide” occurs in *3 Henry VI*.

²⁸ Greene, *Works*, ed. Grosart, XII, 144.

II

THE ORIGINAL ORGANIZATION, STAGING, AND DATE OF THE PLAY

Of the various discussions of *1 Henry VI* the most assured and most definitely detailed is that of Fleay. In 1886, in his *Chronicle History of the Life and Work of Shakespeare*, p. 260, amplifying an article published by him in *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1875, he "announced" the "hypothesis" that the play acted March 3, 1592, *hærey the vj*, was merely the revamping by Shakespeare of a play originally written about 1588-89 for the Queen's Men by a combination of four dramatists headed by Marlowe. After dividing the various other scenes, on grounds hereafter to be discussed, among (*a*) Marlowe, (*b*) Greene or Kyd, (*c*) Peele, and (*d*) Lodge, he directs the attention of the reader to Act IV, scenes ii-vii, depicting Talbot's last fight and death, which passage, he says, "did not form part of the original play." His reasons for this belief are (1) that the scenes are contemporary in subject-matter with the material in the next play in the series; (2) that in his judgment they are very different from, as well as superior to, their surroundings; and (3) that in the First Folio they form the latter part of Act IV, scene 1, without separate numbering. "It is plain," he says,¹ "that they were written subsequently to the rest of the play and were inserted at a revival. They had to be inserted in such a manner as not to break the connection between this play and *2 Henry VI*, and were put in the most convenient place, regardless of historic sequence. I take it for granted that this play in its original shape was acted before *2 Henry VI*, the commencement of which was evidently meant to fit on to the end of the preceding play. It is in accordance with the hypothesis here announced [that the play acted March 3, 1592, was new only in these Talbot scenes] that we find Nashe in his *Piers Penniless* . . . referring only to the Talbot scenes as new. 'How it would have joyed brave Talbot, the terror of the French, to think

¹ Pp. 259-263.

that after he had lain two hundred year in his tomb, he should triumph again on the stage, and have his bones embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least.' . . . It [*1 Henry VI*] was . . . in action when Greene's celebrated address to those gentlemen, his quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits making plays,' was written. . . . Greene was evidently addressing the principal playwrights of the time, and, if my present view is a true one, he seized the opportunity of Shakespeare's having made 'new additions' to a play in which all of them had been concerned to endeavor to create an ill-feeling between 'the upstart crow beautified with our feathers' and those of the University men, who had hitherto enjoyed a monopoly of writing for the stage, or nearly so. . . . In Greene's excuse it must be considered how galling it must have been to a man in poverty and bad health to see a play which, while he was connected with it, had attracted little notice, suddenly raised to the highest success by the insertion of a few scenes written by a 'Johannes factotum,' a 'Shakescene,' who was 'able to bombast out a blank verse' without being '*Magister in artibus utriusque universitatis.*' . . . The scene ii.4 has long been recognized as so far superior to the rest of the play as to be probably due to the hand of Shakespeare at a later date, c. 1597-8."

Later² Fleay summarizes his view of the relation of the three *Parts* as follows: "About 1588-9, Marlowe plotted, and, in conjunction with Kyd (or Greene), Peele, and Lodge, wrote *1 Henry VI* for the Queen's Men. About 1589 the same authors wrote *2 Henry VI*; in that year I have ascertained that Marlowe left the Queen's Men, and in 1590 joined Pembroke's, for whom he alone wrote *3 Henry VI*. In 1591-2 the Queen's Men were in distress, and sold, among other plays, *1 Henry VI* to Lord Strange's Men, who produced it in 1592 with Shakespeare's Talbot additions as a new play. In the autumn of that year or in 1593-4, when the companies travelled on account of the plague, they cut down their plays for country representation; among others, *2 Henry VI* (altered by some illiterate) and *3 Henry VI* (abridged by Marlowe himself). . . . In May, 1593, 2

² Pp. 273-4.

Henry VI passed to Sussex' Men with *Leir*, &c., when the Queen's Men broke up; in February, 1594, with *Andronicus* to Pembroke's; in April, when Pembroke's company partly dissolved, all three plays were reunited in the hands of the Chamberlain's Men; and for them 2 *Henry VI* was, c. 1600, after Lodge had retired, remodelled by Shakespeare, and 3 *Henry VI* corrected—the other authors, Peele, Marlowe, (Kyd?), and Greene, having died before 1598. Meanwhile Millington published 2 *Henry VI*. Q. as *York and Lancaster*, and 3 *Henry VI*. Q. as *Richard Duke of York*, these abridged copies having become useless to Pembroke's Men on the ceasing of the plague and of their travels."

This theory Fleay slightly amplified five years later by the additional hypothesis: "The insertion of the Talbot scenes, and the consequent omission of matter [in Act V?] to make room for them, produce an extremely short fifth act."³

Historians of the Elizabethan drama and biographers of Shakespeare of more recent years⁴ have taken diverse attitudes on the subject, Fleay's theory of the fourfold original authorship of the play being largely ignored. Creizenach attributes all three *Parts* to Shakespeare without hinting the possibility of the appearance of another hand.⁵ Brandes⁶ avoids all detailed discussion of *Part 1*. In general, however, there has been a tendency to accept without question the theory⁷ that the version of 1592 was Shakespeare's revision of an earlier draft by other hands.⁸ In the Yale

³ *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, II, 201.

⁴ For an excellent outline of the earlier criticism of the play see Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, II, 71-74; and for a general classification of the views on the subject see Dr. Tucker Brooke in the Yale ed. of the play, 138ff.

⁵ Distinctly in his *English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare*, 233, and by inference in numerous other passages in this work and in his *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*.

⁶ *William Shakespeare, a Critical Study*, 21ff.

⁷ First suggested in 1777 in Maurice Morgann's *On the Dramatic Character of Falstaff*.

⁸ So, vaguely, Boas, *Shakespeare and his Predecessors*, 141-2; Baker, *Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*, 148; Matthews, *Shakespeare as a Playwright*, 41; Tucker Brooke, *Tudor Drama*, 314; *et al.*

edition of the play,⁹ on the other hand, Dr. Tucker Brooke asserts that "The only fair inference . . . from the facts known is that the play of *Harry the Sixth*, dealing largely with Talbot's wars in France, was composed about the beginning of the year 1592, and that this was later remodeled by Shakespeare into *1 Henry VI*," a view in which he is followed in Prof. J. Q. Adams' recent *Life of Shakespeare*. As to who were the original authors, the same names reappear constantly, but in different combinations. Dr. Ward,¹⁰ citing especially the conclusions of Fleay and Grant White, states it as his own belief that though "Greene's style of thought—I would add of ornament—and versification is most largely to be detected throughout the play, it can hardly be doubted that Marlowe—and perhaps Peele and Lodge— . . . were prominently concerned in this strange, but by no means intrinsically improbable, partnership." Professor Barrett Wendell,¹¹ citing Fleay, says that the "weight of opinion seems to favor the opinion that Greene, Peele, Kyd, and Marlowe had a hand in" the three *Parts*. Dr. Schelling¹² says that it "is considered an old play by Greene, assisted by Peele and Marlowe." Sir Sidney Lee¹³ credits Greene and Peele with the authorship of the first draft of all three *Parts*, Shakespeare and Marlowe collaborating on the revision of *Parts 2* and *3*. Mr. Masfield¹⁴ finds in *Part 1* the work of three minds, that of Shakespeare, "who saw a big tragic purpose in events," and "at least two mechanical (sometimes muddy) minds, who neither criticized nor understood, but had some sense of the pageant." Practically no one except Fleay attempts to assign the various individual scenes to the various original authors, nor can I find that Fleay's conclusions have ever been critically reviewed in detail. Of the later editors of the play

⁹ P. 134. The following reference is to Adams, *A Life of William Shakespeare*, 136, 214.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, II, 58-74.

¹¹ *Shakespeare*, 71.

¹² *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 267.

¹³ *Shakespeare*, ed. 1916, p. 122.

¹⁴ *Shakespeare*, 51-54.

the most important views are those of H. C. Hart,¹⁵ who assigns the original play to Greene in collaboration probably with Peele and Shakespeare, and Tucker Brooke,¹⁶ who believes it wholly the work of Peele. As to Shakespeare's part in the play, practically all who of late years have considered the matter agree in assigning to him the Temple Garden scene (II, iv). Sir Sidney Lee¹⁷ adds "Talbot's speeches on the battle-field (act IV, sc. v-vii)," and thinks that possibly "the dying speech of Mortimer (act II, sc. v) and the wooing of Margaret by Suffolk (act V, sc. iii) also bear marks of Shakespeare's vivid power." Mr. Masefield¹⁸ names as Shakespeare's II, iv; II, v; and IV, ii-vii; omitting V, iii. Mr. H. W. Mabie¹⁹ says that it "is significant that the scenes in which Talbot appears as a leading figure in the first plot are now assigned to Shakespeare by common consent"—a statement doubly unjustifiable, for there is no "common consent" as to the Shakespearean authorship of the scenes of Talbot's last fight, and in assigning to Shakespeare the Talbot scenes *in toto* Mr. Mabie has almost no support whatever.²⁰ An important recent article on the subject is that of Dr. H. D. Gray,²¹ who advances arguments to show that Shakespeare rewrote portions of several scenes besides those frequently assigned to him, mainly with the object of emphasizing the idea that the loss of France was due to the dissension of the English nobles at home, and who is inclined to believe that Greene had some connection with the original version. Dr. Tucker Brooke takes somewhat the same position with regard to

¹⁵ Arden ed., as republished by Bobbs-Merrill Company, p. xii; but cf. *ibid.*, p. xlvi, where Prof. Hart admits that in the course of his study the presence of Greene in the play "became more and more shadowy, and finally it practically vanishes from the finished product."

¹⁶ Yale ed., 147-154; also J. Q. Adams, *Shakespeare*, 136.

¹⁷ *Shakespeare*, ed. 1916, p. 122.

¹⁸ *Shakespeare*, 53-54.

¹⁹ *Shakespeare*, 119.

²⁰ Prof. Baker remarks, "We suspect strongly that the Talbot scenes in *Henry VI* are Shakespeare's" (*Shakespeare's Development as a Dramatist*, 163). See also J. T. Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, I, 83.

²¹ "The Purport of Shakespeare's Contribution to *1 Henry VI*," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII, 367-382.

Shakespeare's share in the work, believing²² that "the general polish and homogeneity of style suggest the conscientious line by line correction which can be proved for the second and third parts of the play"; and more specifically²³ that in a play originally by Peele, Shakespeare not only revised throughout, but largely remoulded and emphasized, adding extensively, and even altering the order of scenes, to change the dominant note of the play from one of national vindication to one of pessimism and foreboding in order to fit it into the *Henry VI-Richard III* tetralogy.

With due respect for the memory of an indefatigable and suggestive, if somewhat dogmatic, pioneer scholar in the field of Elizabethan drama, I shall first examine Fleay's theory at considerable length, so far as it concerns *Part 1*. On first reading we are struck by a number of obvious difficulties. First, if *1* and *2 Henry VI* were written as a connected pair for the Queen's Men, why should Strange's Men have purchased only the first of the pair from the Queen's Men, especially when the theory demands that up to that time the play should have "attracted little notice," and that *2 Henry VI* was disposed of elsewhere but little later? If the two were plotted as a pair, why should the purchaser accept but the one, and that an inferior production?

Next, a fair reading of Nashe's allusion in its context gives no reason that I can perceive for regarding the Talbot death-scenes alone as new. Nashe is engaged in a piece of special pleading for the theatre against its opponents, and he selects those scenes that serve the purpose of his argument. The rest of the play he does not touch upon because it is wholly apart from the question. Further, it is making an undue assumption to say that the scenes alluded to by Nashe are the death scenes only. It is perfectly fair to consider that the scenes in which Talbot "triumphs again on the stage" (for his death is merely a moral triumph) are the earlier sections in which he triumphs in battle, and that therefore in the two verbal phrases "triumph again" and

²² *Tudor Drama*, 314.

²³ Yale ed. of the play, 133-54, partly following J. B. Henneman's "The Episodes in Shakespeare's *1 Henry VI*," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XV, 290-320.

"have his bones new embalmed" the passage summarizes the entire Talbot element in the plot. Finally, it must be insisted that Nashe gives no information, direct or indirect, as to the newness of any part of the play. Without the aid of Henslowe we could not, even very approximately, date the writing of any passage in it from the reference in question. The part of Fleay's argument dependent upon the sentence of Nashe is wholly without foundation.

In the third place, investigation since Fleay's time has fixed more accurately the probable dates of Greene's plays, and it is impossible that the blank verse of any part of *I Henry VI* could have been written by Greene in 1588-89 or even, it would seem, two years later. Examine, for instance, the following typical lines opening Act I, Sc. i, of his *Alphonsus of Aragon*, written not earlier than 1588,²⁴ if so early:

Carinus. My noble sonne, since first I did recount
The noble acts your predecessors did
In Aragon, against their warlike foes,
I neuer yet could see the ioy at all,
But hanging downe thy head as malcontent,
Thy youthfull dayes in mourning have been spent.
Tell me, *Alphonsus*, what might be the cause
That makes the thus to pine away with care?
Hath old *Carinus* done thee any offence
In reckning vp these stories vnto thee?
What, nere a word but Mumme? *Alphonsus*, speake,
Vnles your Fathers fatall day you seeke.²⁵

The inferiority of these stiff, almost uniformly ten-syllabled lines, with their monotonous beat always ending on full accents and with the onward flow twice halted by rhymed couplets, is self-evident. Or turn to what in all probability is Greene's second extant play, *A Looking-Glass for London and England*, written in collaboration with Thomas Lodge and assigned to 1590, if not 1591.²⁶ While it is not absolutely certain that Greene wrote the following Tamburlaine-like passage in the opening scene of the

²⁴ *Plays and Poems of Robert Greene*, ed. J. C. Collins, I, 138-143.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 82.

²⁶ Mr. Collins says (*ibid.*, I, 43; cf. I, 137-9), "There can be no doubt at all that it was composed after 1590."

drama, yet it is probable that he did, and certainly there is no better blank verse in the play, nor is there any evidence that other practice in the writing of dramatic blank verse in the interim had further limbered up Greene's style.

[*Rasni.*] So pace ye on, tryumphant warriours;
 Make Venus Lemmon, armd in al his pomp,
 Bash at the brightness of your hardy lookes.
 For you, the Viceroyes and the Cauliures,
 That wait on Rasnis royall mightinesse,
 Boast, pettie kings, and glory in your fates,
 That stars haue made your fortunes clime so high,
 To give attend on Rasnis excellence.
 Am I not he that rules great Niniue,
 Rounded with Lycus siluer flowing streams,
 Whose Citie large Diametri containes,
 Euen three daies iournies length from wall to wall,
 Two hundreth gates carued out of burnisht brasse,
 As glorious as the portoyle of the Sunne,
 And for to decke heauens battlements with pride,
 Six hundreth Towers that toplesse touch the cloudes?

This is of course better than the preceding excerpt; but if these passages be compared with *1 Henry VI*, I, iv, to be later quoted at length, it will at once be evident from the superior ease and variety of the passage last named that if all three passages be by Greene (as the first certainly is, the second probably is, and, according to Fleay, the third is if anything in *1 Henry VI* be by him), the third, that from *1 Henry VI*, comes from a considerably more practiced dramatist than either of the others and must therefore date not earlier than 1591-2. And this is in spite of the fact that the blank verse in the sections of *1 Henry VI* that Fleay assigned to Greene (or Kyd) is the poorest dramatic versification in the play.

But Fleay is, for him, strikingly uncertain as to whether Greene himself had any connection whatever with *1 Henry VI*. He is positive as to the work of Marlowe, Peele, Lodge, and Shakespeare; but of the ten scenes assigned to the fifth author he says²⁷ that the author's "work is rather colorless, yet minor coincidences with the known work of Robert Greene and Thomas

²⁷ *Shakespeare*, 258.

Kyd point to one of them as the writer"; and in his later references to the collective authorship he sometimes includes Kyd primarily, with Greene in parenthesis, and sometimes the reverse. But if Kyd was the author of the only scenes that could possibly be attributed to Greene, of course any inference that Greene, in the *Groatsworth of Wit*, is charging Shakespeare with adorning himself with Greene's own work in the play is absurd. The rôle assigned to Greene in the matter then becomes one of mere malicious mischief-maker. Further, it is important to notice that the basis for interpreting the passage in *A Groatsworth of Wit* as a charge of plagiarism is a line from the *Third Part*, and that any interpretation of the passage as referring to the *First Part* is, to say the least, highly hazardous.

Finally, on turning to the scenes depicting Talbot's last fight and death (IV, v-vii), I cannot at all perceive in them the great superiority to the rest of the play that is so evident to Mr. Fleay. They are largely in artificial rhymed couplets, partly stichomythic, and in the climactic scenes are characterized by a tone of would-be heroic with an undercurrent of a kind of lachrymose whine that is not, to my knowledge, to be found elsewhere in Shakespeare. In fact, to a citation by Dr. Furnivall²⁸ of the view of Richard Grant White that the scenes in question were by Peele because "their pathos is his," Mr. P. A. Daniel appends the footnote, "Is 'pathos' a misprint for 'bathos'?"—a pertinent inquiry. The fact is, that the success of the scenes on the Elizabethan stage must have been largely due to the power of the actor, not of the author. It will later be shown that the only tangible evidence cited by Fleay to show that the scenes are an interpolation, namely, the omission of especial numeration for them in the First Folio, may be accounted for in quite another way.

If, then, it appears that the superiority upon which the assumedly interpolated scenes are ascribed by Fleay to Shakespeare is far from evident, that the alleged evidence of Nashe gives no support whatever to Fleay's interpretation, that the evidence of Greene is based upon an interpretation highly dubious, that

²⁸ Reprint of *The First Part of the Contention. The First Quarto, 1594*, pp. xxi-xxii.

Greene himself in 1588-89 was not capable of producing the verse of any scene in the play, and that the assumed circumstances in its history that brought the play from the hands of its conjectured original owners into the hands of its only known owners are contrary to all ordinary commercial probability, we may next consider constructively certain facts that make it probable that the origin of the play was very different from that proposed by Fleay's theory.

Of the twenty-six plays produced by Lord Strange's Men in the periods from February 19 to June 22, 1592, and from December 29, 1592, until the closing of the playhouses on account of the plague on February 1, 1593, every play that is traceable to previous ownership by another company goes back either to the Queen's or to the Admiral's Men, the companies to which the Strange company's leader, Edward Alleyn, had previously belonged, or possibly to Worcester's Men, from whom Alleyn acquired certain plays by purchase on January 3, 1588.²⁹ *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, *Four Plays in One* (or *2 Seven Deadly Sins*), and possibly *The Jew of Malta* and *A Looking-Glass for London and England*, were originally owned by the Queen's Men; *Muly Mollocco* (if the play so named by Henslowe be Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*, with which it is usually identified), *Orlando*, and possibly *The Spanish Tragedy*, belonged to the Admiral's Company; while in 1601-2 *Tamar Cam* (either *Part 1* or *Part 2*) and Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* were the personal property of Alleyn,³⁰ the first having possibly been acquired from Richard Jones of Worcester's Men, January 3, 1588,³¹ and the latter probably by purchase from Strange's Men, who produced it as a new play on January 30, 1592-3.³² Now, of these, *Four Plays in One* and *Orlando* failed and were apparently not repeated by Strange's Company, and *A Looking-Glass* proved of little value, being given but four times in the 134 performances referred to; and all of the others, *including all of the most successful plays of the company except 1 Henry VI*, were afterwards transferred to the Ad-

²⁹ See Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 149-57.

³⁰ See *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 237-38.

³¹ See *Henslowe Papers*, 31.

³² *Diary*, I, 15.

miral's Company, which Alleyn rejoined in the spring of 1594 on leaving Strange's Men. The inference is clear. The line of connection between Strange's Men and the plays of the Queen's and the Admiral's Companies was Alleyn (possibly in conjunction with his father-in-law, Henslowe), and either directly or through his influence all so obtained that were of value were carried with him when he left. *1 Henry VI*, the single valuable play in the Strange repertoire not so transferred, must have been excepted because, contrary to Fleay's hypothesis, it had *not* previously belonged to the Queen's Men, but was the original property of Strange's Men, who naturally would not part with it. If it can be further shown that there was at first no connection between *1 Henry VI* and *2 Henry VI* (again contrary to one of Fleay's fundamental assumptions), that the presence of the successful elements in 1592 was not due to revision, and that elements in the original basis of the play strongly point to its having been especially written for performance in the Rose in 1592, it will be evident that there is an overwhelming probability that the strikingly successful *1 Henry VI* of 1592 was then new in the fullest sense of the term.

The first matter demanding consideration is the structure of the play.

1 Henry VI contains three main plot elements; first, and structurally most important, that of the English hero, Talbot, fighting against the treacherous French, who are headed by the sorceress, Joan of Arc; second, that of the dissensions of the nobility contending for the control of state polity around the child-king, Henry VI, in England, the centre of dissension being the unscrupulous Cardinal of Winchester, while his patriotic opponent is the Protector, the Duke of Gloucester; and third, that concerning the enmity existing between the Duke of York and the Lancastrian Duke of Somerset. The more conspicuous hero of the play, Talbot, is prepared for in the opening scene, where a recital of his exploits and capture constitute the climax of the speeches of a trio of messengers who bring news from France to the English Court. He is then given a sensational personal introduction in I, iv; loses and retakes Orleans, despite Joan, in I,

v-vi, and II, i-ii; foils the attempt of the Countess of Auvergne to trap him, in II, iii; at Paris is created Earl of Shrewsbury by the King, and at the ensuing coronation of the latter denounces the cowardly Sir John Fastolfe, in III, iv, and IV, i; and finally, trapped by the French near Bordeaux and lost through English delay, dies, together with his son, in a last heroic struggle (IV, ii-vii), to the grief of Sir William Lucy, who recites Talbot's titles in eleven lines, and to the joy of the King of France, who ends the act with, "All will be ours now bloody Talbot's slain." Talbot appears personally in thirteen scenes, and an additional three intimately concern him, out of the twenty-two scenes in Acts I-IV. This group of scenes aggregate 1071 lines out of the 2545 lines in the present play. Talbot speaks 410 lines, and his antagonist Joan 254, while the next most prominent character in the play, Richard Plantagenet, later Duke of York, has in all but 184 lines. Talbot's story has introduction, rise, climax (his public honor and his denunciation of his foil), catastrophic fall, and formal eulogy, and up to the end of Act IV is the backbone of the play. His figure is heightened by contrast with the unchivalrous and unsexed Joan, with the cowardly Fastolfe, and at the climax with the child King. After Talbot's death, his opponent Joan is shown actually surrounded by her Fiends (V, iii) and is condemned to the stake (V, iv), so that these scenes also should, from the standpoint of dramaturgic logic, be accounted a part of the Talbot-Joan opposition, making a total of eighteen scenes out of the twenty-seven, and extending from I, i, to V, iv.

The second main element in the drama, the Gloucester-Winchester rivalry, is distinctly subordinate to the Talbot-Joan relation, both in extent and in popular dramatic appeal. It also runs throughout the play, however, although it is limited, at most, to five scenes. It bursts out at the funeral of Henry V, at I, i, 33; and continues through the struggle for the Tower in I, iii, and the public accusation of Winchester by Gloucester before the King in III, i; while the two jointly advise the King to make peace with France in V, i, and the peace is actually concluded by Winchester for England in V, iv.

The third main element in the play, that concerning the beginning of the rivalry between York and the Lancastrian Somerset, opens so late as II, iv. It continues through the interview of York with dying Mortimer in II, v, and the quarrels of Vernon and Basset, the followers of York and Somerset, in III, iv, and IV, i; it is linked with the fate of Talbot in that Somerset, out of enmity to York, refuses until too late to send Talbot reinforcements (IV, iv); and it wholly disappears from Act V, except that York (without mention of Somerset) is assigned the rôle historically filled by Bedford as judge of Joan, and is present at the conclusion of peace (V, iv). This plot-thread is actively developed in five scenes only.

A very subordinate plot-thread is introduced in two scenes of Act V. It begins with the wooing of Margaret of Anjou by the Earl of Suffolk for the boy-King, Henry, in V, iii, 45-195. It is continued in V, v, by Suffolk's persuasion of the King, against the advice of the Protector, Gloucester, to break the previous betrothal with the daughter of the French Earl of Armagnac, and to wed Margaret. The scene and the play end with Suffolk's soliloquy,

Margaret shall now be Queene, and rule the King:
But I will rule both her, the King, and Realme.

From this analysis it will be evident that the Talbot scenes as a whole cannot possibly be an addition to an earlier original, as they are the very basis of the play. It is impossible that the sixteen scenes concerning the central character in a play of only twenty-seven scenes should be an interpolation. Neither is it possible that the death scenes particularly referred to by Nashe can be an interpolation, for they not only form the natural dramatic end to the story of the hero, but further they motivate the end of the play, as in the feeling of the spectators the death of the hero necessitates³³ a compromise peace, and its position before the capture of Joan of Arc also helps to prepare the mood of the audience for her savage execution to follow. While the death scenes are not correctly placed historically, dramatically they are

³³This is recognized both within the death scenes (IV, iii, 16) and without (V, ii, 16-17).

in general skilfully located, and bear all the marks of having been a part of the original design.

Commentators have been more or less troubled by the fact that the historical events in the play are considerably disordered. The drama opens with the funeral of Henry V on November 7, 1422, when Henry VI was nine months old. Salisbury was mortally wounded (I, iv) late in 1428. The forced reconciliation of Gloucester and Winchester (III, i) took place on March 12, 1426, when the King was but four years old. Burgundy deserted the English cause (III, iii) in September, 1435. Talbot, after being created Earl (III, iv), an honor bestowed upon him in 1435, then attends Henry's coronation at Paris (IV, i), an event of 1431. The betrothal of Henry to the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac (V, i) was arranged in 1442, when Henry was twenty, but the peace attempted in the negotiations of English, French, and Burgundian plenipotentiaries, and a representative of the Pope, which is the foundation of the same scene, took place in 1435, seven years before. Joan of Arc was burned (V, iv) as early as 1431. Finally (V, iv) a truce was concluded, which is erroneously represented in the play as a full peace based upon negotiations referred to in V, i, and the terms offered by the English in 1435, but which really was merely a temporary unconditional cessation of war in the year 1444. To conclude, in the same year, 1444, was arranged the marriage of Henry, then aged twenty-two, to Margaret of Anjou, which event at present ends the play.

Now, these chronological difficulties are in general the result of a remassing of the historical material for two reasons. First, the necessary dramaturgic emphasis on the patriot-hero demands that he be created Earl and publicly denounce Fastolfe on the occurrence that dramatically marks the climax of his endeavors, the crowning of his King in the capital of the invaded country; and his death is advanced by nearly a quarter of a century because emotionally, if not in stated terms, this prepares for the burning at the stake of his opponent and motivates the final coming of peace. Second, it appears to have entirely escaped the attention of commentators that many of the chronological difficulties

have their origin in the fact that *the part of the King had throughout to be played by a child actor*. The nine-months-old King is naturally not present at the funeral of his father, which opens the play. He first appears at the quarrel of the Cardinal and the Protector in III, i, and, assuming the rôle historically played by a Parliamentary committee, he personally reconciles them; and that this may occur at a time when the child is old enough, that occurrence is postdated. In this scene he himself refers to his "tender years"; and later in the scene Gloucester reproaches Winchester with

What, shall a Child instruct you what to doe?

At his next appearance, an illusory shortening of the protracted time-lapse of the play occurs through Henry's words to Talbot,

When I was young (as yet I am not old)
I doe remember how my Father said,
A stouter Champion neuer handled Sword,

a recollection historically impossible. In IV, i, 149, he again refers to his "tender years," and Exeter (line 192) declares,

'Tis much, when Scepters are in Childrens hands:
But more, when Enuy breeds vnkinde deuision.

Finally, in V, i, after discussing the proposed peace of 1535 (which is the period adopted in the drama both because the terms of 1535 were more flattering to English patriotism and because at the date of the actual truce of 1444 Henry was a man of twenty-two years), Gloucester broaches the question of the proposed marriage of Henry with the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac, and the child replies:

Marriage Vnckle? Alas my yeares are yong:
And fitter is my studie, and my Bookes,
Than wanton dalliance with a Paramour.

Gloucester finally accepts the proposed marriage *for* the boy, and after a merely perfunctory consent.

This disposes of all the serious wrestings of the chronological order, but does not dispose of the fact that a boy of some thirteen years becomes the husband of the witty Margaret who historically married the man of twenty-two. Now there are a number of

clear indications that the present ending of the drama is an addition to the original play. In the first place, it does not require any especial acquaintance with the aesthetics of play-construction to recognize that the present ending of *1 Henry VI* is not that of an isolated play, but is designedly anticipatory of the opening of *Part 2*. Yet we know that the drama *was* being presented as an isolated play from March 3 to June 22, 1592, and also during the later season of Strange's Men at the Rose from December 29, 1592, to February 1, 1593, when *Part 1* was still in their repertoire without any indication of *Parts 2* or *3*.³⁴ Now it has been shown above that an entirely new and subordinate plot-element of two scenes only, the Margaret-Suffolk complication, is introduced so late as V, iii, 45-195. At the end of V, iv, Talbot is dead, Joan is completely discredited in English eyes and has been sent to the stake, peace is concluded and Henry's marriage to the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac has already been determined on in V, i. Here, except for the new complication in V, iiib, we

³⁴ It may be regarded as absolutely certain that Strange's Men did not have plays including the material of either *2* or *3 Henry VI* at this time, or, in view of the great popularity of *Part 1*, they would assuredly have used the supplementary *Parts* as trailers in the wake of the latter. In the parallel case of *The Comedy of Jeronimo* and *The Spanish Tragedy*, both of which were in their repertoire, during the same season the company frequently, though not invariably, played the two on successive days, the recorded performances being as follows: *The Comedy of Jeronimo*, February 23; March 13, 30; April 10, 22; May 24; June 21. *The Spanish Tragedy*: March 14, 20, 31; April 7, 14, 24; May 2, 11, 15, 25; June 9, 19. Eight of the twenty performances were in consecutive pairs (March 13-14, 30-31; April 22-24 (there was no performance on Sunday, April 23); May 24-25; while on June 19-21 the order was apparently reversed, *1 Henry VI* intervening. (*Henslowe's Diary*, I, 13-15, with corrections of dates from II, 325.) So, too, at the Rose in 1594-5, the Admiral's Men acted *1 Tamburlaine* alone on August 30; September 13, 29; October 16, 18; and November 4, 27; and then played *1* and *2 Tamburlaine* consecutively on December 17-19 (Sunday intervening); December 31-January 1; January 27-29 (*The Set at Maw* intervening); February 17-18; and March 11-12. (*Diary*, I, 17-22, with corrections of dates from II, 325-6.) But not only is it true that it was the custom of the companies and to their interest to give a *Part 2*, if they owned one, in close connection with an unusually successful play—in this case there is evidence that Strange's Men actually made a fruit-

have a fairly stable conclusion, and the ending of the scene, although not elaborate, is one fairly grateful to English patriotic sentiment.

Yor[k] [addressing the French King]. Then sweare Allegiance to his Maiesty,
 As thou art Knight, neuer to disobey,
 Nor be Rebellious to the Crowne of England,
 Thou nor thy Nobles, to the Crowne of England.
 So, now dismisse your Army when ye please:
 Hang vp your Ensignes, let your Drummes be still,
 For heere we entertaine a solemne peace.

Exeunt.

This is logically and aesthetically the end of the play.³⁵

But 2 *Henry VI*, like its original, *The Contention*, begins with the bringing to England of the new Queen Margaret, daughter of "Reignier, King of Naples, Sicilia, and Jerusalem"; and

less attempt to find a play that would serve that purpose. As has already been shown (p. 2, n. 2), on March 6, 1592, three days after the very profitable opening performance of *harey the vj*, Henslowe's *Diary* records that the company staged *Four Plays in One* (brilliantly identified by Fleay with 2 *Seven Deadly Sins*), a specially arranged one-day combination of the older two-day dramatic sequence, *Five Plays in One* and *Three Plays in One*, and featuring the imprisoned Henry VI in its introduction, connecting links, and conclusion (see the *plot* of the play preserved in *Henslowe Papers*, 129-32). But although the part of Henry had been strengthened by the condensation, yet as there could have been no obvious connection between the situation of the child Harry, whose generals had just forced the King of France to swear "never to disobey, Nor be rebellious to the crown of England," and that of the middle-aged and helpless Henry of *Four Plays in One*, and as the latter drama had its interest divided among four widely separated stories and belonged primarily to the then disappearing type of didactic allegory, this attempt to use the old-fashioned play as a follow-up drama for the new *harey the vj* had little real prospect of success. That it failed is evidenced by the fact that the play was discontinued after the single performance of March 6; and throughout Henslowe's record of Strange's Men no other Henry VI play makes an appearance to serve as *Part 2* in its place.

³⁵ The fact that if the Suffolk-Margaret and the last scene were omitted, and the play left to close with "Winchester's peace" in V, iv, it would have been a conclusion much better suited to its chief context, was pointed out by Gervinus in 1850 (*Shakespeare*, 2nd ed., I, 202).

the first element of dramatic tension, both in the original and the revised forms, is found (I, i, 52-62) where Gloucester reads in the article of peace the condition that, for her, England gives up to Reignier the Duchy of Anjou and the County of Maine. At that point, Gloucester, overcome with emotion, surrenders the document for further reading to his enemy, the Cardinal of Winchester. Now, in *1 Henry VI* scenes *iiib* and *v* of Act V are obviously intended to prepare for this opening of the *Second Part*. They are a *to-be-continued-in-our-next* device and can have no function in the play until its natural sequent, *2 Henry VI*, becomes a part of the series. Fleay, as we have seen, takes it for granted "that this play [*1 Henry VI*] was acted before *2 Henry VI*, the commencement of which was evidently meant to fit on to the end of the preceding play." But the opening of *Part 2* is dramatically right and effective, and the ending of *Part 1* is artistically bad. So long as we start with the hypothesis, as does Fleay, that the two *Parts* were written in sequence for one company, it is barely possible to imagine that *Part 1* was left in an unfinished condition temporarily until *Part 2* was written and connected with it, although Marlowe, whom Fleay considers primarily responsible for the two *Parts*, was not reduced to any such extremity in the two *Tamburlaines*, and although normally *Second Parts* grow by an after-thought out of the striking success of *First Parts*, and are not prepared for in advance. So soon, however, as we admit the possibility that the two plays were originally separate compositions for different companies, and see that *1 Henry VI* has another completely natural ending, we perceive also that the false ending of *Part 1* must be the result of attempted adjustment to the dramaturgically correct opening of *Part 2* at a time after *Part 2* had become the property of the owners of *Part 1*.

In both V, *iiib*, and V, *v*, there is tangible evidence supporting this view. In one respect V, *iiib*, is strikingly different in style from anything else in the play. It carries the theatrical convention of the "aside" to an extreme of which I know of only one parallel. The "aside" is a highly conventionalized development of the soliloquy. The latter is an expression of the thoughts of the character when he is, or believes himself to be, alone upon the

stage, and therefore under conditions when he might conceivably talk aloud. The "aside" is a similar expression of the thoughts of the character when in the presence of others *to whom he must be inaudible*, and when therefore such talking aloud is in fact impossible. It is a device for externalizing the thought of the character for the benefit of the audience alone. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, iii, Shakespeare introduces a remarkable use of both the soliloquy and the "aside." Biron, concealed, overhears the King of Navarre's soliloquizing confession of love for the Princess of France. The King then steps aside, and both overhear Longaville's similar soliloquy with regard to Maria. Finally, all three overhear Dumain's soliloquy with regard to Katherine. As the scene progresses and the successive revelations proceed, there is developed the extraordinary convention that when one in concealment comments "aside" on the person then soliloquizing, the "aside" is audible to all who secreted themselves previously to the speaker, but is inaudible to all who secreted themselves later as well as to the character then soliloquizing. This scene is the work of a young dramatist playing with his tools and either not quite aware of their limitations or experimenting to see how far they can be forced. Now in *1 Henry VI*, V, iii^b, is an analogous stretching of the "aside" to, if not past, the breaking point. Suffolk enters with Margaret as prisoner. After a twelve-line "aside" ("My hand would free her, but my heart says no") apparently unheard by Margaret, this dialogue ensues:

Mar[garet]. Say Earle of Suffolke, if thy name be so,
 What ransome must I pay before I passe?
 For I perceiue I am thy prisoner.
Suf[folk]. How canst thou tell she will deny thy suite,
 Before thou make a triall of her loue?
M[ar]. Why speak'st thou not? What ransom must I pay?
Suf. She's beautifull; and therefore to be Wooed:
 She is a Woman; therefore to be Wonne.
Mar. Wilt thou accept of ransome, yea or no?
Suf. Fond man, remember that thou hast a wife,
 Then how can *Margaret* be thy Paramour?
Mar. I were best to leaue him, for he will not heare.
Suf. There all is marr'd: there lies a cooling card.
Mar. He talkes at rando[m]: sure the man is mad.
Suf. And yet a dispensation may bee had,

Mar. And yet I would that you would answer me.

Suf. Ile win this Lady *Margaret*. For whom?

Why for my King: Tush, that's a woodden thing.

Mar. He talkes of wood: It is some Carpenter.

Suf. Yet so my fancy may be satisfied,

And peace established betweene these Realmes.

But there remaines a scruple in that too:

For though her Father be the King of *Naples*,

Duke of *Aniou* and *Mayne*, yet is he poore,

And our Nobility will scorne the match.

Mar. Heare ye Captaine? Are you not at leysure?

Suf. It shall be so, disdaine they ne're so much:

Henry is youthfull, and will quickly yeeld.

Madam, I haue a secret to reueale.

Mar. What though I be inthral'd, he seems a knight

And will not any way dishonor me.

Suf. Lady, vouchsafe to listen what I say.

Mar. Perhaps I shall be rescu'd by the French,

And then I need not craue his curtesie.

Suf. Sweet *Madam*, giue me hearing in a cause.

Mar. Tush, women haue bene captiuat ere now.

Suf. Lady, wherefore talke you so?

Mar. I cry you mercy, 'tis but *Quid* for *Quo*.

Here we have the same extreme playing with stage conventions as in *Love's Labour's Lost*. The absurdity of making Margaret overhear, and attempt to break in upon, eight successive "asides" by Suffolk, and "asides" framing such a project at that, and then retaliate by three teasing "asides" of her own, similarly interrupted by him, is too patent for comment. This is peculiarly a trick of the younger Shakespeare. Note, too, that the basis of the device is the principle of balance, which is highly characteristic of Shakespeare's apprenticeship.³⁶

Nor are other marks of Shakespeare's hand wanting in the scene. The lines of Suffolk as he leads Margaret in,

Oh Fairest Beautie, do not feare, nor flye:

For I will touch thee but with reuerend hands,

I kisse these fingers for eternall peace, [*kissing her hand*]

And lay them gently on thy tender side . . .

³⁶ Cf. the balance of Lords and Ladies in *Love's Labour's Lost*; Proteus, Julia, and Launce, balanced against Valentine, Silvia, and Speed in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*; the many balanced speeches in *Richard III*; etc.

Be not offended Natures myracle,
 Thou are allotted to be tane by me:
 So doth the Swan her downie Signets saue,
 Keeping them prisoner vnderneath his wings: . . .

these are superior for delicacy to the content of any other scene in the play. Observe, also, that the swan simile is based upon observation of a summer scene, and would more naturally be penned at that season, while the original play, as will be shown, was probably written in midwinter.

The last scene in the play, continuing this entanglement of V, *iii*b, is not so distinctive in technique as the preceding, nor so effective in versification.³⁷ Nevertheless distinctive elements are not lacking. First, Henry is not the child-King of the rest of the play. The same shrill childish voice that in V, *i*, uttered the line,

Marriage Vnckle? Alas my yeares are yong:

has now to pipe such sentiments as these:

Her [Margaret's] vertues graced with externall gifts,
 Do breed Loues settled passions in my heart,
 And like as rigour of tempestuous gustes
 Prouokes the mightiest Hulke against the tide,
 So am I driuen by breath of her Renowne,
 Either to suffer Shipwracke, or arriue
 Where I may haue fruition of her Loue.

This forcing of character in the child actor must have made the new ending even more unsatisfactory in the theatre than on the printed page. Again, Suffolk speaks of Margaret thus:

Her valiant courage, and vndaunted spirit,
 (More than in women commonly is seene)
 Will answer our hope in issue of a King.

This description does not necessarily follow from the single playful scene in which Margaret has just appeared, but is plainly written with the Margaret of the succeeding plays in mind. Another small but significant detail in characterization also separates the scene from the rest of the play. In I, *i*, Exeter is the English patriot inspiring the English against the French; while throughout the rest of Acts II, III, and IV, he has only three speeches,

³⁷These matters will be discussed at length later.

each a soliloquy prognosticating evil for the kingdom. Only in this concluding scene, V, v, and there in a single two-line speech,³⁸ does he take a mere subordinate part in the dialogue as a mechanically convenient stage figure, losing his original individuality and distinctive function, as if at the hand of one not in close touch with the original conception.

One other point shows a hitherto unnoted relation between this two-scene ending and Shakespeare. In *1 Henry VI* not only does Margaret appear only in V, iii*b*, but Suffolk serves as a speaking character in only one other scene beside these two, namely, in the famous Temple Garden scene (IV, ii), which all critics admit to be a later interpolation by Shakespeare.³⁹ It would appear that, Suffolk having been inorganically introduced in the connecting link at the end of the play, Shakespeare in a later revision dramaturgically prepared for his appearance in Act V, and also increased the coherence between *Parts 1* and *2*, by giving him earlier a part in II, iv, as a supporter of Somerset; and of course theatrical economy then gave Suffolk a place as silent character in all court scenes in which his presence would be appropriate. Thus, if V, v, were a part of the original play, lacking Shakespeare's II, iv, and V, iii*b*, we should have in the earliest *harem* the *vi* the dramaturgic absurdity of a deliberately planned final Act in which 60 of the 108 lines are spoken, and the King controlled, by a previously unmentioned character, who refers at length, and by first name only, to a lady of whom the audience has

³⁸ There is a slight hint that, in the scene as first penned, Exeter was given also another speech, similarly unindividual. In the First Folio, lines 36-38 are preceded by the name of the speaker, *Gloucester*, spelled out completely, the only unabbreviated form of such length so placed anywhere in the play. The most natural explanation is, that of the five speeches dissuading the King from marriage with Margaret three were originally given to Gloucester and two to Exeter, and that later, lines 36-38 were transferred from Exeter to Gloucester, the Protector, and for clearness in the prompter's book whoever made the transfer wrote the changed name out in full.

³⁹ The reasons we may certainly attribute this scene to Shakespeare are that here the characterization is more penetrating, the reaction of character to character in the dialogue of the complex character-group of six more immediate and life-like, the climaxed gradation of the scene is

never before heard, and who, contrary to all principles of artistic balance and emphasis, ends the play with a soliloquy upon his personal plans for the future.

A final reason for believing that the present ending is a later addition is the original division of Acts and scenes, which for this drama has been more misrepresented in the modern editions than is the case with any other Shakespearean play. The First Folio, our only basic text, has no scene divisions in Acts I or II, which contain 599 and 486 lines, respectively. Act III, of 474 lines, is divided into four scenes as at present. Act IV, divided into three scenes totaling 1010 lines and ending with the conclusion of peace, includes all of the present Acts IV and V except the final brief passage between Suffolk and the King (the present V, v). This final scene, consisting of but 108 lines, only about one-tenth the number in Act IV in the Folio, stands isolated as Act V. Further, the first scene of the new complication, the Margaret-Suffolk wooing-scene, stands without special scene number in the middle of (Folio) IV, iii, and after the wholly unrelated scene of the capture of Joan of Arc. The very unnatural relative proportions of (Folio) Act IV and Act V, and the facts that Act IV closes with the natural end of the main subject-matter of the drama, that there is no apparent reason for the isolation of the brief last scene as a separate Act, and that the other scene of the very subsidiary

more artful, and the language more richly suggestive, than in any other scene in the play. In a narrower way characteristic of Shakespeare, also, is the elaboration of the thought-plays upon the significance of the rose colorings, the balanced speeches, and the rhetoric of lines 11-16. Line 101,

Ile note you in my Booke of Memorie,

might also be compared with *Hamlet*, I, v. 97-103. It is suggestive, too, that (in connection with II, v) the scene is placed on the date of Mortimer's death in 1425, when York was only thirteen years old and when his opponent, Edmund Beaufort (whom York calls "boy"), was nineteen and was not to attain to the title of Earl of Somerset until the death of his brother several years later. The 25.5 per cent. of feminine endings (some double) in the 133 lines of the scene (a percentage in itself enough to stamp the scene as a later interpolation) indicates its date to be not earlier than 1598, and therefore in all probability considerably later than V, iii~~b~~, and V, v.

new complication has not been given a separate scene number, irresistibly suggest that originally the play was, like *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Jack Straw*, a four-Act drama—that the brief final scene was a later addition, and that its complement, the wooing scene, was so slipped in as not to interfere with the original scene numbering.

From the foregoing facts it will be obvious that the Suffolk-Margaret complication, introduced without preparation after the middle of the last Act, has no purpose but that of link to *Part 2*; that the peculiar Act-division of the Folio indicates it to have been an after-thought; that it brings about inconsistencies in the characterization of Margaret and absurdities in the portrayal of the child-King; that it envelops and supersedes as conclusion a more satisfactory ending intended for the isolated play; that in the involved characters it has peculiar relations to a generally acknowledged interpolation by Shakespeare and in the play to that only; and that the technique and poetic qualities in V, iii^b, clearly bear the mark of Shakespeare's hand; while without II, iv, and V, iii^b, and their introductions of Suffolk and Margaret, the concluding scene, especially as a separate Act of only 108 lines, is a dramaturgic absurdity not to be accounted for as a part of the original play. It would therefore appear unquestionable that these scenes were an addition to *harey the vj*,⁴⁰ made presumably at some time

⁴⁰ These two scenes, with all the rest of the last four scenes of the play, are assigned by Fleay to Lodge on the grounds that throughout this section the Folio has the spellings *Reignier*, *Gloucester*, and *Jone*; that the phrase *a cooling card* is used (V, iii, 84), which Lodge employs a number of times, but which "has not been traced in Greene, Peele, or Marlowe"; and that the versification of the section in general is "unmistakable." But *Reignier* is so spelled throughout the greater part of the play, and *Gloucester* is the form found in the certainly Shakespearean II, iv; the distinctively spelled *Jone* is not found in either of the two passages in question; the judgment as to versification is merely a general impression concerning scenes ii-v as a whole; and certainly the odd phrase *a cooling card*, which was famous as the title of the second section of Lyly's *Euphues* (1579), *Euphues to Philautus. A Cooling Card for Philautus and all Fond Lovers*, whence Lodge himself had pretty certainly borrowed it, could easily be picked up by an alert young dramatist with his eyes open for topical novelties. (For a number of other authors in whom it is to be found, see Arden ed., note to V, iii, 84.) But apart from all other

later than February 1, 1593, up to which time apparently Strange's Men had not obtained possession of *Part 2* and the link scenes would therefore not yet be needed. From this it follows that the keystone for Fleay's belief that *1* and *2 Henry VI* were written as a pair for the Queen's Men in 1588-89, namely, the original close linking of the two, falls to the ground.

It should further be remarked that the elimination of the present ending from the original play reveals the early *1 Henry VI* as at first a more artistic production than now appears. Its two main complications, early introduced, the Winchester-Gloucester and the Talbot-Joan oppositions, are both carefully prepared for in the opening scene, and extend throughout the drama. They are interlinked with the third, the York-Somerset rivalry, in that the restoration of York to his rank arises from the King's satisfaction at the Gloucester-Winchester reconciliation, while later Somerset, through his jealousy of York, is responsible for the death of Talbot, and at the end York is made the judge of Talbot's chief antagonist, Joan. Finally, the play ends with the conclusion of a peace negotiated by Winchester. *1 Henry VI* was therefore in its original form better unified structurally than, for instance, *Part 2*, in which Suffolk is killed in IV, ii, and the interest is then diverted to Cade's rebellion and the invasion of England by the Duke of York.

We next turn to a very unusual feature in the original staging of the play. Talbot is given what, in its day, must have been a distinctly sensational introduction. After a fifty-line description,

considerations, how the dramatic technique of the "asides" in V, iii*b*, could be assigned to Lodge, I cannot understand. Moreover, as will be shown later, it is pretty clearly demonstrable that Lodge was not in England when the play was being written. It may be objected that the present ending of V, iv, is not quite so gracefully rounded as one would expect in the full ending of a play; but this is explicable either on the ground that the play was finished hastily (as it certainly was), or that when the additional scenes were appended, the ending that they superseded was somewhat cut to deprive it of final emphasis. That there was some mutilation of the close is indicated by the occurrence of a fragmentary (cut) line ten lines from the end (V, iv, 166). And even now, V, iv, would be a better rounded ending than is the present one.

in I, i, of his almost superhuman exploits and his capture by the French, he enters in person in a scene (I, iv) the details of which are borrowed from Holinshed but with which historically Talbot had no connection. After the stage direction "Enter [on the walls]⁴¹ the Master Gunner of Orleans, and his Boy," the Gunner tells his son

How the English, in the Suburbs close entrencht,
Went through a secret Grate of Iron Barres,
In yonder Tower, to ouer-peere the Citie,

and then leaves the boy in charge of a "Peace of Ordnance" that has been directed against the place of espial. The scene then proceeds:

Enter Salisbury and Talbot on the Turrets, with others.

Salisb. Talbot, my life, my joy, againe return'd?
How wert thou handled, being Prisoner?
Or by what meanes got's thou to be releas'd?
Discourse I prethee on this Turrets top.

Talbot then gives the details of his exchange, of his abuse by the French and of their dread of him, in a passage ending,

And if I did but stirre out of my Bed,
Ready they were to shoot me to the heart.

Enter the Boy with a Linstock.

Salisb. I grieue to heare what torments you endur'd,
But we will be reueng'd sufficiently.
Now it is Supper time in Orleance:
Here, through this Grate, I count each one,
And view the Frenchmen how they fortifie:
Let vs looke in, the sight will much delight thee:
Sir Thomas Gargraue and *Sir William Glansdale*,
Let me haue your expresse opinions,
Where is best place to make our Batt'ry next?
Gargraue. I thinke at the North Gate, for there stands
Lords.

Glansdale. And I heere, at the Bulwarke of the Bridge.

Talb. For ought I see, this Citie must be famisht,
Or with light Skirmishes enfeeble. *Here they sho[o]t, and
Salisbury falls downe.*

⁴¹I quote the Folio text, inserting in brackets modern additions to the stage directions.

Salisb. O Lord haue mercy on vs, wretched sinners.

Gargr. O Lord haue mercy on me, wofull man.

Talb. What chance is this, that suddenly hath crost vs?
 Speake Salisbury; at least, if thou canst, speake:
 How far'st thou, Mirror of all Martiall men?
 One of thy Eyes, and thy Cheekes side struck off?
 Accursed Tower, accursed fatall Hand,
 That hath contriu'd this wofull Tragedie.
 In thirteene Battailles, *Salisbury* o'recame:
Henry the Fift he first trayn'd to the Warres.
 Whilst any Trumpe did sound, or Drum struck vp,
 His Sword did ne're leaue striking in the field.
 Yet liu'st thou *Salisbury*? though thy speech doth fayle,
 One Eye thou hast to looke to Heauen for grace.
 The Sunne with one Eye vieweth all the World.
 Heauen be thou gracious to none aliue,
 If *Salisbury* wants mercy at thy hands.
 Beare hence his Body, I will helpe to bury it.
 Sir *Thomas Gargraue*, hast thou any life?
 Speake vnto Talbot, nay, looke vp to him.
Salisbury cheare thy Spirit with this comfort,
 Thou shalt not dye whiles——
 He beckens with his hand, and smiles on me:
 As who should say, When I am dead and gone,
 Remember to auenge me on the French.
 Plantaginet I will, and like thee, [*Nero*,]
 Play on the Lute, beholding the Townes burne:
 Wretched shall France be onely in my Name.

Here an Alarum, and it Thunders and Lightens.

What stirre is this? what tumult's in the Heauens?
 Whence commeth this Alarum, and the noyse?

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My Lord, my Lord, the French haue gather'd head.
 The Dolphin, with one *Ioane de Puzel* ioynd,
 A holy Prophetesse, new risen vp,
 Is come with a great Power, to rayse the Siege.

Here Salisbury lifteth himselfe vp, and groanes.

Talb. Heare, heare, how dying *Salisbury* doth groane.
 It irkes his heart he cannot be reueng'd.
 Frenchmen, Ile be a *Salisbury* to you.
Puzel or *Pussel*, Dolphin or Dog-fish,
 Your hearts Ile stampe out with my Horses heeles,
 And make a Quagmire of your mingled braines.

Conuey me *Salisbury* into his tent,
And then wee'le try what these dastard Frenchmen dare.

Alarum. Exeunt.

On attempting to visualize the performance of this on the Shakespearean stage we are immediately confronted with serious difficulties. Did the Master Gunner and his son, appearing "on the walls," mount a piece of ordnance on the balcony, the usual location of city walls in the theatres of Elizabeth? If so, where were the English in their "turrets"? And how is a small cannon to be discharged practically point-blank at a group of men who, if on the stage or elevated but a little above it, would have been, even in the later and larger Fortune Playhouse, less than some thirty feet away?⁴² The discharge of the ordnance was dangerous at best, as is evident from the famous burning of the Globe in 1613 as the result of the throwing upon the roof of a piece of burning wadding from a discharged cannon.⁴³ And note also, after the shot, the unusual amount of description (borrowed only in part from the Chronicle) of what under ordinary conditions it would seem that the audience could see for themselves, a thing not customary in other parts of the play.

The original stage directions in the First Folio, however, give us the clue to the actual stage management. There the first entrance reads, *Enter a Master Gunner and his Boy*, omitting the words *on the walls*. Moreover, the text gives no indication whatever that the author intended father and son to be represented as elsewhere than on the ground. They are standing with their "piece of ordnance" on the stage level and facing toward the rear. It is then natural to suppose that the English are on the balcony. But we are still confronted with the danger of using the cannon under these conditions, especially as the English will be standing

⁴² The stage of the Fortune from front line to balcony was only 27½ feet deep. See contract provisions in *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, Mun. 22.

⁴³ Cf. conveniently the accounts collected in J. Q. Adams' *Shakespearean Playhouses*, 251 ff. See also the account of the fatal accident from a similar use of fire-arms by the Admiral's Men as quoted by Chambers (*Elizabethan Stage*, II, 135) from Jeayes, *Letters of Philip Gawdy* (Roxburghe Club), 23.

not only a very short distance from the cannon, but in an extensive and inflammable structure of wood. Further, note the emphasis on height in *yonder tower to overpeer the city* (l. 11) and the curiously unnecessary repetition, *Discourse, I prithee, on this turret's top* (l. 26). And how about the *secret grate of iron bars* twice mentioned? Are we to suppose a special structure arranged in the balcony to simulate a grate, or a naïve Pyramus-and-Thisbe-like dependence upon the imagination? Or if the English are to peer out through the wide and high opening of the ordinary balcony, why uselessly keep Holinshed's description of the *iron bars*? Moreover, when Gargrave and Glansdale point out the distant city gate and the bulwark of the bridge near at hand, are they pointing into the narrow limits of the pit and galleries and into the eyes of the spectators? And why the stage direction in the plural, "Enter on the Turrets," when the text twice uses the singular "tower" and once, immediately after the stage directions, the singular "turret"?

One answer, and only one, clarifies all these difficulties. The word "turrets" in the stage direction does not indicate the supposed place of action (which is properly a tower, or main structure, not merely a turret, or smaller and subsidiary structure, both in Holinshed and in the text). The term indicates *that section of the theatrical structure to which the actors are to mount*.

No such use of the stage turret has hitherto, to my knowledge, been recorded in the study of the Elizabethan drama.⁴⁴ It has been accepted that the Elizabethan stage permitted action upon three levels only, (1) the front and back stage, (2) the balcony, and (3) rarely under the stage, as in the case of "this fellow in the cellarage" in *Hamlet*, I, v, 151. The use of the fourth level, the turret top, however, not only clarifies the difficulties in this scene, but is further confirmed by an unmistakable similar case elsewhere in the same play. In III, ii, Joan, disguised, and four soldiers bearing packs, enter Rouen as market folk, with the intent to throw open the gates to the French army ambushed without.

⁴⁴ I do not find reason for qualifying this statement, written in 1919, by reason of anything in Mr. Chambers' later *Elizabethan Stage*. But cf. present study, p. 62, n. 79.

According to prearrangement, Joan signals the main force, the stage direction being, "Enter Pucell *on the top*, thrusting out a Torch burning." She speaks:

Behold, this is the happy Wedding Torch
That ioyneth Roan vnto her Countreyemen,
But burning fatall to the Talbonites

And in the distance the Bastard of Orleans remarks to the French King:

See noble *Charles* the Beacon of our friend,
The burning Torch in yonder *Turret* stands.⁴⁵

Twelve lines below is the stage direction, "Enter Talbot and Burgonie without: within, Pucell, Charles, Bastard, and Reigneir *on the Walls*."⁴⁶ The distinction between "on the walls" (the balcony) and "on the top" (the turret above) is quite clear.⁴⁷

We must now make a rather long excursus upon the subject of the Elizabethan theatrical turret. This, as Mr. W. J. Law-

⁴⁵ III, ii, 26-28, and 29-30.

⁴⁶ In the above passages the words "on the top," "Turret," and "on the walls" are not italicized in the original.

⁴⁷ The words *on the top* occur again in the stage directions in *The Tempest* at III, iii, 17: *Solemne and strange Musicke: and Prosper on the top (inuisible:) Enter seuerall strange shapes, bringing in a Banquet; and dance about it with gentle actions of salutations, and inuiting the King, &c. to eate, they depart.* Here again an examination of the passage makes the reason for Prospero's position clear. He is to dominate the scene in which his "ministers," headed by Ariel, spiritually castigate Antonio, Alonso, and Sebastian for their crime against Prospero and his daughter twelve years before. At least one reason why he does not occupy the balcony (which is not used elsewhere in the play) is to be seen from the stage direction at III, iii, 52: *Thunder and Lightning. Enter Ariell (like a Harpey) claps his wings vpon the Table, and with a queint deuice the Banquet vanishes;* and again in that at III, iii, 80, after Ariel's speech of reproach: *He [Ariel] vanishes in Thunder: then (to soft Musicke.) Enter the shapes againe, and daunce (with mockes and mowes) and carrying out the Table.* This is one of the chief spectacular scenes of the play, and Ariel, here winged for the only time in the drama, is evidently to be lowered above the table and later to *vanish in Thunder* from that position. (In the masque in Act IV a direction at IV, i, 72, *Juno descends*, by its use of the expression "descends," frequently employed in such connections, indicates that the *Queene o' the Skie* was similarly lowered. Cf. Jupiter's entry and exit in *Cymbeline*,

rence has already noted,⁴⁸ was a structure at a slight elevation above the roofing of the galleries, from which was hoisted the flag announcing a coming performance, from which the three trumpet blasts were blown at intervals during the hour preceding its beginning, which contained the drum and bullet used for simulating thunder and the ordnance for salutes, and probably where also "was situated the windlass or other rude machinery whereby the 'creaking throne' of the substantial deity-bearing cloud was lowered." Unfortunately, concerning its exact construction we are somewhat in the dark. The DeWitt drawing of the Swan theatre shows a structure as wide as the stage and apparently situated wholly over the balcony. It has two rather small windows, broader than they are high, overlooking the audience, and a door at the end on the spectator's right, on a level with the upper part of the "heavens" and approximately on a level with the roof of the highest of the three galleries for spectators, in which door is standing the trumpeter. The turret is here surmounted by a gable roof, with a flag at the corner nearest the trumpeter. Of course, as to exact detail the DeWitt drawing is not entirely trustworthy, as being a rough sketch, made possibly from memory at some time after DeWitt's visit to the Swan, or even, worse still, made by another hand from an oral description.

The only other information we have on the subject is such as may be derived from the minute pictures in the contemporary maps and panoramic views of London, and the rather undetailed statements in the extant contracts for the building of the Fortune and the Hope theatres. In the maps and panoramic views⁴⁹ only

V, iv, 92 and 113, with its very clear reference to the trap-door above, which was closed on his disappearance.) If Prospero had been placed in the balcony, the hanging figure of Ariel on a level with the balcony would have interfered with the audience's view of the magician and with the Duke's artistic dominance of the scene. All of Prospero's speeches from his high position are soliloquies.

⁴⁸ *The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies*, pp. 8-9, citing Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*; *Cymbeline*, V, iv; *Alphonsus, King of Aragon*, opening of Act I; and *The Silver Age*, *passim*.

⁴⁹ Generally excellent reproductions of these are scattered through W. J. Lawrence, *The Elizabethan Playhouse*; G. P. Baker, *The Devel-*

the tops of the turrets are visible. Admitting for the moment the possibility that these may be more or less conventionalized views of the individual structures,⁵⁰ and therefore of doubtful value, let us summarize the facts concerning their portrayal of the turrets and the inferences they suggest concerning the stage beneath.

The important maps for our purpose are: (1) Norden's rude map, published in 1593 and showing the Bear Garden and the Rose; (2) Delaram's equestrian portrait of James I of c. 1603, with a view of London in the distance representing the conditions of 1599-1605, since it contains, in addition to the Bear Garden, both the First Globe, erected in the year first named, and the Rose, which apparently disappeared at the end of that period;⁵¹ (3) Hondius' map of 1610, with only the Bear Garden and the First Globe;⁵² (4) Visscher's *View of London*, generally admitted to be the finest and most reliable of the series, and also lacking the Rose, but showing the Bear Garden, the Swan, and the Second Globe;⁵³ (5) the Merian view of 1638, which is prob-

opment of *Shakespeare as a Dramatist*; Brander Matthews, *Shakespeare as a Playwright*; C. T. Onions, ed., *Shakespeare's England*; A. H. Thorndike, *Shakespeare's Theatre*; and especially, J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*. In addition, I have employed the originals of Steed's *Atlas* containing Hondius' map in the British Museum and in the Huntington Library at San Marino, California, and of Visscher's *View of London* in the British Museum. The best brief bibliographical treatment of these views is in Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, II, 353-55.

⁵⁰ Cf. Baker, *Shakespeare as a Dramatist*, 48.

⁵¹ I follow here Chambers' interpretation of these two views (*Elizabethan Stage*, II, 377) rather than that of Adams (*Shakespearean Playhouses*, 146, 149, 458, *et al.*), because the recent fixing of the site of the Globe south of Maiden Lane in its logical position at the bend in Globe Alley (Chambers, II, 433) makes it necessary to revise Adams' marking of the site on the 1720 map (Adams, 245) and apparently obliges us to identify the circular theatre most in the foreground of the views as the First Globe. Further, this has the merit that it renders it unnecessary to consider the most important maps as based on surveys or lost originals dating from four to fourteen years earlier.

⁵² Chambers, II, 377, as opposed to Adams, 149.

⁵³ If the elaborately turreted Globe Theatre pictured in the Visscher *View* is indeed the Second Globe rather than the First, this should enable us to date the survey upon which that *View* was based within rather

ably based largely on the Visscher view but cannot be denied some measure of independent authority as containing some important details not included in the Visscher or any other known view, and which displays the Second Globe, the Swan, the Hope, and an otherwise unknown fourth house apparently on or near the site of the Rose; and (6) Hollar's *View of London* of 1647, showing only the Second Globe and the Hope.

The so-called "Ryther" map of 1630-40; the inset on the title-page of Baker's *Chronicle* (1643), based on Hondius' map or its original; Hollar's(?) *View of London* published in Howell's *Londinopolis* (1657), based on Visscher through Merian; and the Faithorne map of 1658 are, for our purposes, of very secondary importance.

Considering now the various playhouses in the order of their erection and with regard to the points that here interest us, we gather from these maps data as follows:

1. The Theatre (built 1576): No views.
2. The Curtain (built 1577): The only possible view is the crude sketch in the so-called Ryther map of 1630-40, which

narrow limits. The First Globe was burned on July 8, 1613; the Second Globe was newly open June 30, 1614. (Chambers, II, 420, 423.) But the Visscher *View* distinctly marks the neighboring house *Bear Gardne*, and it is certainly not the very distinctive structure that is pictured as the Hope in Hollar's *View* of 1647 and that is in agreement with the Hope contract. It must therefore be the earlier Bear Garden. The contract for the building of the Hope (*Henslowe Papers*, 19), dated October 29, 1613, provides that the Bear Garden shall be torn down and a new house erected in its place by November 30 following. But, as Mr. Chambers points out (II, 468-69), the execution of the contract must have been delayed, the new house, the Hope, apparently not having been completed by the spring of 1614 as it is not mentioned in Taylor the Water-Poet's presentation of the case of the watermen to the King at that date. It was, however, in use by the following October 7. The draft for the Visscher view, therefore, it would seem, must be dated between the finishing of the Second Globe in the spring or very early summer of 1614 and the completion of the Hope in the summer or early autumn, since Visscher either pictured the still standing Bear Garden or from an earlier view filled in the space left by its removal.

gives us no details of value for our purposes. We do not hear of the Curtain after 1627.⁵⁴

3. The Bear Garden (built 1583): The Norden map (1593) clearly lacks indication of any superstructure. The background of the Delaram portrait (1599-1605) clearly shows a long gabled structure projecting above the wall, though whether on the southeast or the northwest side of the theatre yard it is, on account of the point of view, difficult to say. The Hondius map of 1610 is somewhat puzzling. The external lines of the building seem to be continued far above the double cross lines that one would naturally take to mark the thatched roof, the details between are vague, and the uppermost line is apparently somewhat dentated. That this whole arrangement is not to be considered as a turret seems clear from the fact that it fills all the space between the external wall lines of the building, that it bears no resemblance to any turret that we have pictured in any other place, and that as regards both shape and position it is contradicted both by the more authoritative Visscher view and by the Merian view. But the serration is more accentuated and pointed at the eastern end, and in the light of the Visscher map this is distinctly significant. In the inset view in the title-page of Baker's *Chronicle* (1643), taken apparently from the Hondius view or from the same original, the serration is reduced to a mere toothed line. The Visscher view (1616) is beautifully clear. A conspicuous single-gabled turret, surmounted by a flag-pole, the whole satisfactorily visualized, rises above the walls on the east side. The representation in the Merian view (1638) contains the same details, again clearly visualized. As to date, these facts are to be interpreted in the light of the circumstance that the earliest evidence of the use of the Bear Garden for drama dates from so late as Dekker's *Satiromastix* (1602).

4. The Rose (built 1587; disappeared about 1605): There are only two extant views of value. The Norden map (published in 1593) shows no superstructure. The Delaram portrait (background of 1599-1605) shows the same building with a prominent gabled superstructure appearing above the wall either

⁵⁴ Adams, *op. cit.*, 90.

on the northeast or the southwest side of the pit, although on which side the point of view does not permit us to determine. This corroborates the evidence of the early *harey the vj* that the Rose had a turret. The Merian view of 1638 shows a structure approximately in the position of the Rose, although that house is not heard of after 1605 and does not appear in the Visscher view of 1616. Even if the Merian view is in this respect reliable, the identity of the building was apparently unknown to the draughtsman, for he does not give it an identifying number as he does the other houses. Unlike the sketch in the Delaram portrait, it appears a comparatively low building, and if authentic and really on the Rose site, probably represents a later structure. Its flag is somewhat to the western side of the enclosure.

5. The Swan (built 1595): Visscher's panoramic view (1616) shows a gable-roofed hut with a flag, rising above the wall on the west or northwest side. The shape and proportion of the part of the hut showing are in complete harmony with the DeWitt drawing of the interior of the Swan. Merian's view (1638) gives the same details. There is no other view having any independent authority.

6. The First Globe (finished shortly before September 21, 1599, when Platter witnessed there a performance of *Julius Caesar*⁵⁵): The Delaram picture (background of 1599-1605) shows a circular structure smaller in diameter above than below and with a turret rather obscurely to be seen extending above the walls, apparently either on the northwest or southeast side of the pit. The Hondius view of 1610 represents the same structure but omits the turret, as it likewise is rather unsatisfactory with regard to the Bear Garden.

7. The Second Globe (new before June 30, 1614): The Visscher panorama shows a triple structure rising conspicuously above the walls on the northwest or southwest side. The two lower sections of this structure are gabled. From the drawing either (1) they may be standing side by side, with the gables parallel but with the nearer one shorter than the further and the further one surmounted by a square cupola, in which case

⁵⁵ *Anglia*, XXII, 456.

the structure is on the southwest of the pit; or (2) the two lower sections may be transverse gables, the shorter cutting the longer in the middle at right angles and the two surmounted by the square cupola at their junction, in which case the structure is on the northwest of the pit. The second is for several reasons the more likely explanation, as will be shown. The Merian view of 1638 for the Globe rather slavishly follows the Visscher view, as it does in the case of the Bear Garden. In Hollar's panoramic view of 1647 the Globe is indicated by name. As Professor Adams⁵⁶ points out, Hollar was in exile from 1645⁵⁷ to 1652, and for his London view had to rely upon reproducing other views, or, when these failed, upon his memory, and therefore this picture of the Globe is vague in detail. Further, the building had been pulled down on April 15, 1644.⁵⁸ Although no structure appears above the wall, the wall is sharply inclined upward at the west as if to conceal or give additional protection to a stage beneath.

8. The Hope (in use by October 7, 1614): The contract for this building⁵⁹ called for a house both for plays and for bull- and bear-baiting, with a removable stage resting upon trestles, and with "the heavens all over the said stage, to be borne or carried without any posts or supporters to be fixed or set upon the said stage." With regard to matters not specifically provided for in the contract the theatre was to be built upon the model of the neighboring Swan. The only extant picture of this house, that in Hollar's view of 1647, is in complete harmony with these requirements, and as, unlike the Second Globe, the building was still in existence at the given date, the sketch is probably trustworthy. Two gable-roofed structures run parallel and touching, from the somewhat northwesterly wall (as in the Swan) more than halfway into the yard. They are surmounted by a Sara-

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 260.

⁵⁷ He was not in exile so early as 1643. He was captured at the taking of Basing House by the Roundheads on October 14, 1645. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, IX, 1055.

⁵⁸ Adams, 384.

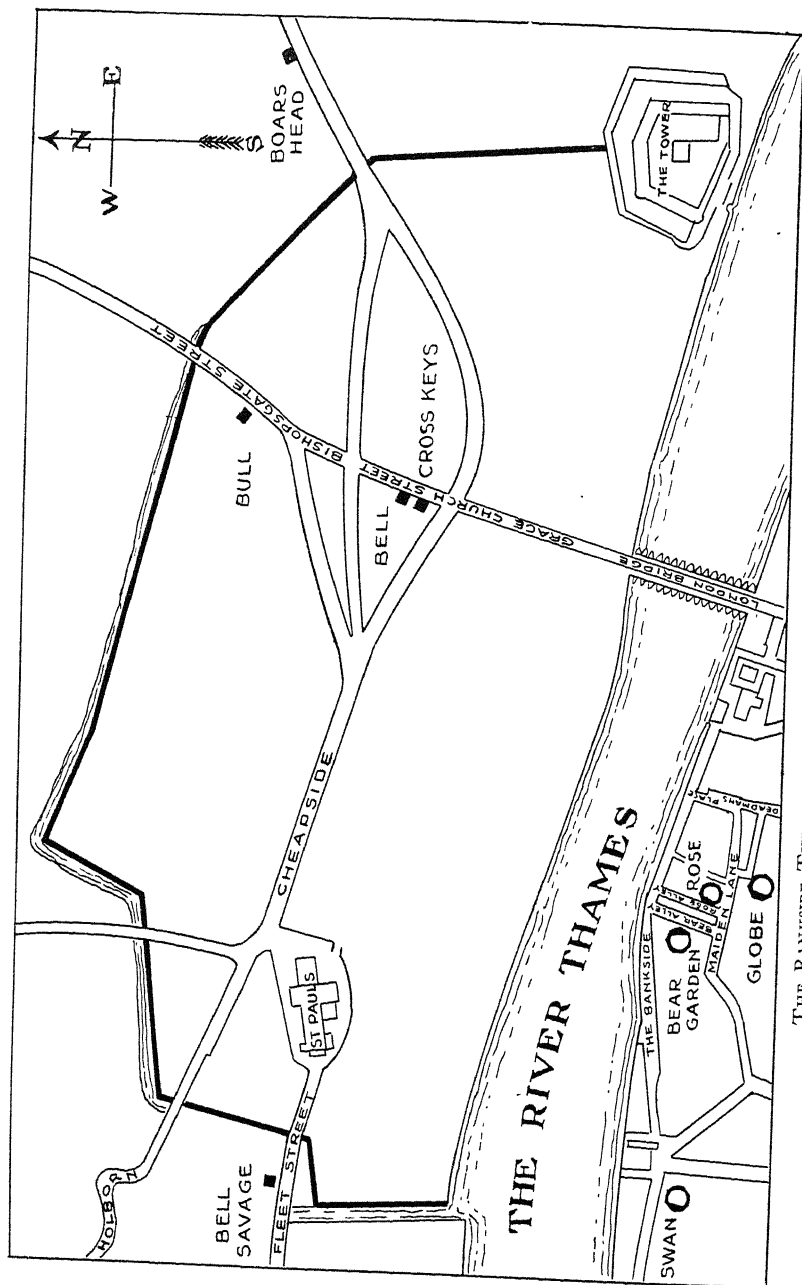
⁵⁹ Abstracted in Adams, 326-330; given in full in Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 19, and Chambers, II, 466-68.

cenic cupola back over the tiring-house, where the weight would be removed from the "heavens" and would rest only upon the solid tiring-house walls. The very curious and unusual long double-parallel-gable arrangement, with peaks over each side of the stage and none in the middle, is evidently designed to support a structure projecting over the full depth of the stage, as solidly and lightly as possible; while the oriental cupola is evidently an attempt at an improvement over the cupola on the new Globe, although in its enforced new position, on account of the deeply projecting "heavens," it certainly could not have been seen from within the yard or used for stage effects.

From the above it would seem that we may gather certain conclusions:

1. It is a striking fact that all the clear views of turrets of houses that were solely theatres indicate a stage on the generally western side of the pit,⁶⁰ with apparently a slight tendency toward the northwest in the later houses. The only doubtful cases are in the minute pictures of the Rose and the First Globe in the background to the Delaram equestrian portrait, which are necessarily ambiguous, because it was impossible in so small a view to indicate clearly at the given angle whether the structures were on the near or the far side of the pit, and which it is only reasonable to interpret in accord with the other evidence in the case. Otherwise, the only clear exception to the rule of the generally western location is in the Visscher and Merian views

⁶⁰ The phrase "generally western" takes into account not only certain variations among the various buildings themselves, but also the facts that the different drawings are not identical as to the assumed points of view, that it is difficult to determine how much allowance should be made for perspective, and that even in drawings apparently based upon the same original the angles of presentation of important structures are not always consistent. As a generalized statement the phrase is sufficiently accurate. Note, too, that in respect to the location of the stage the same conditions as in the Bankside theatres appear to have obtained at the three theatre-inns in the heart of the city, i.e., the Cross Keys and the Bell in Gracious Street and the Bull in Bishopsgate Street. These were all on the west side of the thoroughfare, necessitating an entrance to the inn-yards from their eastern ends and naturally throwing the stages again to the west ends of the rectangular enclosures.



This follows J. Q. Adams' *Shakespearean Playhouses*, correcting the location of the Globe. The position of the stages in the various Bankside houses is indicated by a thickened side line. THE THEATRE and THE CURTAIN are to the west of Bishopsgate Street and well above the northern limit of the map.

(probably corroborated by the Hondius sketch) of the Bear Garden, and this exception is easily explained. In this house the production of plays was incidental to the main business of bear-baiting, and the position of the spectators and therefore of the stage would be determined by the place of entrance of the animals. Now the position of the houses for the animals is clearly indicated in the Norden map of 1593, where the outbuildings are grouped against the amphitheatre in their logical place on the warm southeastern side, where all day they would be heated by the sun.⁶¹ When in 1614 the Hope was erected on the site of the Bear Garden, Hollar's picture shows the turrets and the removable stage to have been shifted to the usual western (or somewhat northwestern) side, as they were in the Swan, which by contract served as the builder's model. The illustrations in all the clear views therefore agree on the generally western position of the stage for all the houses except the Bear Garden, the main function of which at the time was such as to render its divergence from the type quite natural.

Other considerations are confirmatory of the correctness of the information derived from the clear views as to the location of the turrets and stage. First, this is in accordance with the inherent probabilities of the case. A position generally west or northwest of the playhouse pit is the best possible for the stage under what we know to have been the light conditions during the hours of performance. Between three and five in the afternoon the sun is passing from the south more and more to the southwest sky. With the front line of the westerly stage running from north to south, or even better, somewhat from northeast to southwest, during the greater part of the afternoon the full warmth of the sun would be admitted to the amphitheatre without interference from "heavens" and turrets—an important matter in an unroofed theatre, especially in winter. And moreover, the performers do not directly face the glare and can, if necessary, play back under the protection of the "heavens"; while the smallest possible pro-

⁶¹ Cf., too, the quotations from Stow's *Survey*, and from DeWitt's account of his visit, as quoted by Adams, pp. 166-67, and also the Merian view of 1638 and the map of 1657, where the outbuildings are shown similarly placed.

portion of the audience are troubled by confronting the light, namely, those on the north and northeast sides, and as the sun sinks and the three-story theatre wall intervenes, a steadily diminishing number even of them. Again, the evidence of the panoramas and maps in this respect is in harmony with the DeWitt drawing of the Swan interior. With a stage thus placed, London would be on the performers' left, and the trumpeter announcing the performance to the center of population would naturally appear on that side of the turret and face in that direction, which is exactly the position in which DeWitt pictures him. Finally, this explanation helps to solve an old perplexity with regard to the superstructure of the Globe. It has been said that the Vischer view of the Globe turrets is susceptible visually of two interpretations. There may be (1) two parallel gables standing side by side, the nearer the shorter, and the further surmounted by a square cupola; or (2) the two lower sections may be transverse gables, the shorter cutting the other at right angles and the two surmounted by the square cupola at their junction. If the former is the correct interpretation of the drawing, the stage is on the southwest, and the sunlight tends to be directly in the eyes of the spectators. If, on the contrary, the stage is on the northwest, the second of the above explanations is necessarily the correct one, which gives ideal light conditions, substitutes a graceful and symmetrical structure for a curiously awkward and ungainly contrivance, and at the same time does away with the query as to the use of the shorter or "second house,"⁶² which is then non-existent. There can be little doubt that the clear views correctly indicate the general positions of the stages in the regular theatres and the Bear Garden, respectively.

2. There is traceable throughout the pictures a regular evolution as to the turret. The Rose turret, absent in the earliest map including the theatre, is found as a conspicuous but simple structure in the Delaram view. The Bear Garden turret, similarly absent in the earliest view discussed, in the Delaram and

⁶² Baker, *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*, 70.

Visscher views is conspicuous but single.⁶³ The Swan (1595) is of the same conspicuous but comparatively simple type as the Bear Garden. The First Globe (1599) in the Delaram picture has a simple turret not conspicuously delineated. The Second Globe (1614) has a complex triple structure rising conspicuously far above the walls on the northwest side. The Hope (1614) extended its "heavens" over the entire stage despite the difficulty of supporting so heavy a structure without forward posts, and, not to be outdone by its popular rival, the Second Globe, erected a fancy oriental cupola, although apparently where, from its shape and position, its only possible use could be as an ornament and as a stand for the trumpeter who announced the performance to those at a distance. The logic of this development is self-evident.

3. As a general result of the above facts we may note a distinct additional ground for confidence in the details of the panoramic maps. In the sketch of London in the Delaram drawing, which is not a map at all, but merely a very subordinate background to a large equestrian portrait of the King, and from which great topographical clearness and accuracy are therefore not to be expected, the tiny turrets are probably somewhat conventionalized in form and possibly not wholly accurate in position. Otherwise, except for the not wholly satisfactory Hondius map, the views prove to be in these matters consistent with each other, with other known facts, and with the general probabilities in the case.

In an attempt to suggest other possibilities in the history of the turret we may adduce certain additional points. The inns that formed the first theatres, and that continued to be used more or less for the purpose in London of the early '90's, from the very nature of the case would have no turrets. Neither would the first Blackfriars theatre, the roofed second-floor room that served as histrionic home to the Children of the Chapel, and later also to the Children of Paul's, from 1577 to 1584. The two earliest regular theatres, The Theatre (1576) and The Curtain

⁶³ Although there is apparently a subordinate structure on a lower level. See conveniently Professor Adams' enlarged detail of the Visscher drawing, *op. cit.*, 127.

(1577), were undoubtedly constructed in general upon the model of their predecessors, the inns, and the added improvements would naturally take time to develop as experience with the new structures showed their advisability.⁶⁴ Further, at least one play, *2 Tamburlaine*, written about the winter of 1587-88, and undoubtedly intended for presentation either in The Theatre or in its sister house,⁶⁵ *The Curtain*, features fire scenes on a large scale. Act III, scene ii, opens with the entrance of the hearse of Tamburlaine's wife, Zenocrate, attended by Tamburlaine, and his three sons, "the drums sounding a dolefull martch, the Towne burning," and Tamburlaine begins the scene with the words,

So, burne the turrets of this cursed towne,
Flame to the highest region of the aire:
And kindle heaps of exhalations,
That being fiery meteors, may presage,
Death and destruction to th' inhabitants.

In III, iv, of the same play the Captain of Balsera, fleeing from the conquered town, dies of his wounds, and his wife stabs their child and, as is clear from the text, burns the bodies and attempts to throw herself into the flames.⁶⁶ Again, in V, i, Tamburlaine commands that the Koran and other Mahometan books shall be burnt, evidently on the stage, and as the flames mount he challenges Mahomet to

Come downe thy selfe and worke a myracle,
Thou art not woorthy to be worshipped,
That suffers flames of fire to burne the writ
Wherein the sum of thy religion rests. *Etc.*

⁶⁴Professor Adams' description of The Theatre suggests its originally simple equipment: "The stage was a platform, projecting into the yard, with a tiring-house at the rear, and a balcony overhead. The details of the stage, no doubt, were subject to alteration as experience suggested, for its materials were of wood, and histrionic and dramatic art were both undergoing rapid development." (*Shakespearean Play-houses*, 48.)

⁶⁵Cf. Adams, 77.

⁶⁶As both husband and child speak at length before dying and no opportunities for substitution for the bodies are noted in the text, it is difficult to see exactly how this was managed; but that it was done the dialogue leaves no room for doubt.

The second and third of these large fires must have been on the stage in the sight of the audience, and in the case of the first, the flames from the burning town must have risen in the balcony above the assumed city walls. All this would be extremely dangerous with an elaborate wooden superstructure above, and suggests the absence, in the theatre of that date, not only of the theatrical turret structure, but also of the "heavens" and even of a roof to the balcony.

Now it will be remembered that the rude Norden map, published in 1593, does not indicate any turret as yet in the Rose or in the Bear Garden, but that the turrets appear in the view depicting conditions in 1599-1605. It will be remembered, too, that Henslowe had in January and February, 1591-2, made extensive alterations in the Rose. Here is Mr. Greg's interpretation of the records:⁶⁷ "The repairs must have been extensive and affected in no small degree the general structure. . . . Much of the wooden structure was replaced by new timber, and the lath and plaster which covered the building was renewed. A mast was provided from which was flown the flag that announced a performance. The roofed portions of the house were freshly thatched. The stage was painted. Over the tiring-house was a room which was ceiled. This, says Ordish (p. 156), was 'reserved for visitors of position,' but it is clearly distinct from the lords' room which was likewise ceiled. It may have served as the 'balcony' over the stage, or it may perhaps have formed the queer tower-like structure which we see overtopping the galleries in the sketch of the Swan and Visscher's panorama." It was probably the balcony, but the plastering suggests new woodwork above it; and the flagpole surmounting the turret was certainly recorded as new.

Now, this remodeling of the Rose early in 1592 was pretty certainly carried out under the direction of the leaders of Strange's company. Henslowe, in 1592, had little, if any, practical knowledge of stage technique or of theatrical architecture from the actor's point of view. But he had an opportunity to bind to himself—an alliance strengthened in the following October by the

⁶⁷ *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 49, commenting upon I, 7-10.

marriage of his step-daughter, Joan Woodward, to their famous leader, Edward Alleyn—the finest theatrical organization of England and one so rapidly rising in court favor that they had just achieved the unparalleled record of giving six court performances between the December 27 and February 14 preceding.⁶⁸ If not at the Theatre or the Curtain, why, in winter, were Strange's Company not playing in any of the more easily accessible inns within the City? They doubtless went in February to the unroofed house in a comparatively untried theatrical location across the river, only as the result of special inducements, among which would pretty certainly be the renovation of the house that actually took place, and very probably the promise of an up-to-the-minute stage equipment practically built to their order.⁶⁹ And observe that *I Henry VI*, the first new play presented in the rebuilt house, in the two scenes previously discussed (I, iv, and III, ii), seems especially and uniquely to "feature" the turret, as the New York Hippodrome might "feature" a new artificial lake. In short, a number of considerations point to the likelihood that the first turret in an Elizabethan theatre was built in the Rose early in 1592 at the direct order of Strange's Men under the leadership of Edward Alleyn.⁷⁰ Its usefulness and the spirit of theatrical competition would cause its insertion in the Bear Garden⁷¹ (in

⁶⁸ *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg, II, 336.

⁶⁹ DeWitt says that the Rose was "more magnificent" than the Theatre and the Curtain (Adams, 167).

⁷⁰ This carries with it the reasonable inference that the Bankside section of the rude Norden map represents a condition of some year or more prior to its actual publication.

⁷¹ See Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 36. Dr. Greg appears to take it for granted (*Diary*, II, 41, 67) that the production of plays on this site does not antedate the building of the Hope in 1613-14, but against this view there are a number of arguments. (1) The presence of the turret in the old Bear Garden as distinctly indicated in the clear views of Visscher and Merian, and possibly also in that of Hondius, is unmistakable evidence of the earlier practice. (2) The earliest mention of the Bear Garden in connection with the production of drama occurs so early as Dekker's *Satiromastix* (published 1602; first produced probably in 1601). In this play, written largely as a personal attack upon Ben Jonson, whom it lampoons under the name of "Horace," occurs the following passage:

the latter at some time during the Henslowe-Alleyn management, which began in December, 1594), in the Swan and the Globe,

Tuc[ca]. . . . thou hast been at Parris garden hast not?

Hor[ace]. Yes Captaine, I ha plaide Zulziman there.

Sir Fau[ghan]. Then M. Horace you plaide the part of an honest man.

Tuc[ca]. Death of Hercules, he could neuer play that part well in's life, no Fulkes you could not: thou call'st Demetrius Iorneyman Poet, but thou putst vp a Supplication to be a poore Iorneyman Player, and hadst beene still so, but that thou couldst not set a good face vpon't: thou hast forgot how thou amblest (in leather pilch) by a play-wagon, in the highway, and took'st mad Ieronimoes part, to get seruice among the Mimickes: and when the Stagerites banisht thee into the Ile of Dogs, thou turn'dst Ban-dog (villanous Guy) & euer since bitest therefore I aske if th'ast been at Parris-garden, because thou hast such a good mouth; thou baitst well, read, *lege*, saue thy selfe and read.

(Dekker: *Dramatic Works*, ed. 1873, I, 229.)

Here Jonson (Horace) himself is made to state as a mere matter of fact that he had acted Zulziman at Paris Garden. This clearly refers to the Bear Garden, not only because Paris Garden was the generic name for the bear-baiting centre on the Bankside (Chambers, II, 359, 374, 411, 461, 465), but from the allusions to "Ban-dog" and baiting interwoven in the passage. The "Zulziman" mentioned by Jonson is unknown, and the satirical nature of the scene necessitates caution in interpretation; but the "Zulziman" line is not a point in itself, but is purely incidental to another matter, and the inference seems unavoidable that at least one dramatic performance had been given at the house in question. It has been doubted by some whether Jonson ever was an actor, but not only is the reference here mingled with other allusions to Jonson's life unquestionably veracious, but there are three further pieces of evidence corroborating it: (a) the point is repeated elsewhere in this same play (*ed. cit.*, I, 202); (b) we have the combined evidence of a letter and an Act of the Privy Council (Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council*, XXVII, 338; XXVIII, 33; quoted by Adams, 173), in the former of which Jonson is referred to as "not only an actor but a maker of the said play," *The Isle of Dogs*; (c) Henslowe, certainly in a position to know, records on July 28, 1597 (*Diary*, I, 200) a loan of £4 to "Bengemen Johnson player," Edward Alleyn himself being a witness. Jonson's one-time status as player is therefore evidenced from three independent sources, one of them official. (3) Another indication that the old Bear Garden was sometimes used for plays is found in Henslowe's entry (*Diary*, I, 214) of

and in the other open-roofed playhouses constructed later.⁷²

We may now return to the *1 Henry VI* of March 3, 1592. The company was performing *The Spanish Tragedy*, *The Jew of Malta*, and other of the most extravagantly sensational plays of the day. The early Elizabethan audience loved scenes of extreme physical danger, torture, and the like. In *2 Tamburlaine*, V, i, Marlowe had already hung a living man in chains upon the stage and directed volleys of musketry against him. In Holinshed's *Chronicle*, one of the principal sources of *1 Henry VI*, and in the midst of the material for that play, was described a similar scene employing a cannon—a scene into which it was possible for the author or authors of the play to introduce the chief hero, giving him a sensational first entrance and at the same time, perhaps, featuring the new superstructure. In the scene as written, I, iv, the Master Gunner and the Boy first place the

sums of £4, £6, and £3. 13s. for three successive days, December 26-28, 1608, "at the bergarden." There appears no other evidence of baiting on several successive days (for after all, the tortured beasts had to be given some time for recuperation as a mere matter of economy); and in view of the usual limitations as to days of exhibition (cf. *Henslowe Papers*, 104; *Diary*, II, 66-68; Chambers, II, 452, 471) the entries point rather to the presentation of plays than to the baiting of beasts. In general Henslowe does not enter in his *Diary* his receipts from either the Bear Garden or the Fortune (in both of which he was in partnership with Alleyn); and in his accounts concerning the Rose from October, 1597, on, he appears to record, not his own profits, but merely that additional percentage of the gallery receipts that he retained as security for the advances he made to the companies as their financial agent (Greg, *Diary*, II, 127-34). Thus the absence of such entries of profits in the Bear Garden do not argue the total absence of theatrical presentations at that house, especially after 1597 and in connection with companies with whom he did not bear that business relation. The whole question is complicated by the possibility that there were two successive Bear Garden structures on the same property during the Henslowe-Alleyn régime prior to the building of the Hope (Chambers, II, 463-65).

⁷² It may be argued against this theory that certain later performances of *2 Tamburlaine* at the Rose suggest that possibly too much stress has been laid upon the earlier presentations of that play as indicating the absence of the turret in the theatres for which the play was originally intended. But even these later performances, upon examination, tend rather to support the view suggested above. The Admiral's Men pre-

piece of ordnance on the extreme front of the stage and explain its purpose, thus creating dramatic tension. Salisbury, Talbot, Gargrave, and Glansdale then appear, probably on the turret platform on which the trumpeter stands in the DeWitt sketch. For the benefit of the audience Salisbury immediately identifies Talbot, inquires concerning his release from captivity, and calls attention to their (theatrically) novel position: *Discourse I prethee on this Turrets [not Towers] top*. Through eighteen lines Talbot complies, the tension of the audience increasing in the presence of the loaded cannon and the unsuspecting victims. On Talbot's line, *Ready they were to shoot me to the heart*, the Boy enters below with the lighted fuse. The actors above probably here enter the turret itself and appear at the window, looking through this narrow *secret Grate*. They are then facing generally east from the westerly located stage. They briefly consult as to the best method of attack on the city. From the stage level the fatal shot is fired, being probably aimed somewhat high. The hero is spared, but Salisbury and Gargrave fall below the level of the turret window. Talbot describes in some detail their wounds and actions, which are invisible to the audience; refers in his promise of revenge, to the one-eyed sun, then prominent in

sented *1 Tamburlaine* singly seven times in the Rose theatre between August 30 and November 27, 1594, during which period *2 Tamburlaine* was not once presented, although it certainly was in the company's repertoire. At last, on December 17-19, 1594, the two *Parts* were presented consecutively, and again on December 31-January 1, January 27-29, February 17-18, and March 11-12. (See above, p. 27, n. 34.) It is probable that the long delay of between three and four months in adding *2 Tamburlaine* to the performance of the popular *Part 1* was due to the difficulty in staging the fire scenes in the Rose with its new turret, and that finally either special precautions were taken or the fire scenes were in some way modified or perhaps even omitted. As this could not justify an increased entrance fee, Henslowe would have no reason for noting any such change in his Diary; and as our text of the play comes from the edition of 1590 no trace of such alterations could reach us through that earlier channel. But whatever may be the explanation as to the manner of staging these later performances of *2 Tamburlaine*, it is quite certain that the demand for the turret in two scenes without doubt belonging to the original material of *1 Henry VI* proves the Rose to have had a turret in early 1592.

the southern heavens; and likens himself to Nero, who from a similar height had *Play[ed] on the Lute, beholding the Townes burne*. At the entering Messenger's tale of French success Salisbury, who while hidden has roughly changed his make-up, *lifteth himselfe vp* to the window again, *and groanes*; and Talbot, for the benefit of the pit below, identifies the now blood-bespattered face fleetingly seen at the aperture: *Heare, heare, how dying Salisbury doth groane*, and with a climactic threat closes the scene.

There is no possibility that this is an interpolation. It is the carefully prepared entrance of the hero. In literary style it is among the crudest scenes in the play, and it utterly lacks any trace of revision. It is certainly of the original stuff of *harey the vij*. This scene and III, ii (similarly lacking all trace of revision) would appear unimpeachable evidence that on March 3, 1592, the Rose had a turret; and if it be true, as conditions seem to indicate, that the turret was first introduced into the Elizabethan theatre *via* the Rose in February, 1592, it is impossible that this scene, and therefore the entire original play, was written for earlier production.

Another feature in the situation is so curious and so suggestively corroborative of this view that it must not go unmentioned. Previous to the story of the death of Salisbury Holinshed tells us,⁷³ "The bulworke of the bridge, with a great tower standing at the end of the same, was taken incontinentlie by the Englishmen, who behaved themselves right valiantlie. . . . By the taking of this bridge the passage was stopped, that neither men or vittels could go or come by that waie." This is all the information given by the chronicler concerning the topography of the siege. In the scene just discussed the speakers are much more specific. In reply to Salisbury's question, *Where is best place to*

⁷³ Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, 210. For the explanation of *Lords* below through the obsolete *Lord General* see *New English Dictionary* under *Lord*, 12, and cf. the modern *Lord Admiral*. No commentators appear to have noted the passage. Some editors, indeed, emend it to read "for there stand lords," but in the Folio the verb is clearly singular, requiring *Lords* to be interpreted as a possessive singular. Further, the emendation misses the entire point of the line. Gargrave wishes, not to attack some noblemen who happen to be standing at the Gate, but to strike at a vital spot, the headquarters of the defence.

make our Batt'ry next? Gargrave answers, *I thinke at the North Gate, for there stands Lords*, i. e., "Lord's," the headquarters of the Lord General, the citadel; and Glansford, *And I heere, at the Bulwarke of the Bridge*. It will further be noticed that whereas Holinshed says distinctly that the tower was standing "at the end of" the bridge, the play is ambiguous, the English being merely *in the Suburbs*, and the tower presumably in the same place. The bridge is near at hand to the tower, and the citadel is more distant. Now it certainly seems to be too striking to be a mere coincidence that as the actors stood in the turret of the Rose theatre in the Bankside suburb and looked out of the east window of the turret over the pit and over the theatre wall toward the eastern section of the city, the two most prominent structures before them were the Tower of London and London Bridge, the former, the citadel of London, *there* and the latter *here* just as described in the scene. When we remember the instinctive bent of the Elizabethan theatre toward realism and the delight of the Elizabethan audience in seeing London described under a foreign guise (a delight that Ben Jonson later brilliantly ministered to), and when we try to visualize the awkwardness of pointing down into the theatre yard and the eyes of the audience for the location of the places described, and the difficulty of ignoring the loaded cannon and the boy with the linstock if they did, it seems highly probable that, on the mention of the citadel and the bridge, the actors in the turret pointed out over the theatre wall toward the Tower and the Bridge, while the audience, with the sudden thrill of pleasure that always comes in the theatre when more is meant than meets the ear, recognized that their own London was being made to serve as the imagined Orleans of the play. Here again would be an opportunity for an added element of novelty in the use of the turret; and it is certainly worthy of note that *the Rose is the only theatre of London before 1599 that fits the indicated topography*.⁷⁴ And there is no probability that the Rose was occupied by Strange's Men prior to 1592.

⁷⁴The Theatre and the Curtain to the north had a very different point of view and had the city between them and the river; the turret of the Bear Garden, between its date of building and 1614, faced in the reverse direction; and the Swan was too far away from the Bridge, and

Finally in this connection, we may point out that if, as the entire situation seems to indicate, the play of *1 Henry VI* was especially written for Strange's Men in their new theatre with new stage equipment, it must have been composed to order, and so shortly before the opening date of the company at the Rose, February 19, 1591-2, that at least the writer who was responsible for the early Talbot sections was acquainted, although perhaps somewhat imperfectly,⁷⁵ with the new facilities that were in process of construction. This would necessarily mean hurried composition, and the play bears many evidences of haste. In the first place it is without doubt the work of a number of hands, and a man like Marlowe, who will be shown to have had a prominent part in it, and whose great works are strictly individual compositions, does not turn over a large part of a play to several collaborators unless pressed for time.⁷⁶ Even the central thread of the play, the Talbot story, is certainly by more than one writer, as if the original author had discovered that he could not complete his section within the necessary time and had found it necessary to obtain assistance in the latter part. There are, too, a number of irreconcilable inconsistencies in the play, betraying work delivered before it had been matured. Prominent among these is the fact that Winchester is represented as a Cardinal in I, iii, and yet that in V, i, supposedly over nine years afterward, Exeter is surprised that Winchester is *install'd, And call'd vnto a Cardinalls degree*, while later in the same scene we see Winchester just sending money to the Pope *For cloathing me in these graue Ornaments*. Then, too, in I, i, the First Messenger re-

moreover there is no hint that it was ever used by Strange's Men. The Globe, built near the Rose in 1599, is of course too late in date to affect the question.

⁷⁵ For instance, the repeated order in the text proper to bear out the body of Salisbury, usually necessary in such scenes to clear the uncurtained stage, was probably unnecessary in the turret, where the actor would have simply to stoop below the level of the window and walk down the stairs. In the Folio the final stage direction is simply *Exeunt*, omitting the modern addition, *bearing out the bodies*.

⁷⁶ Of course, I do not refer to the possibility of later additions to a play after it had left the author's hands, as in the case of *Faustus*.

ports Paris as *quite lost*, while in IV, i, Henry is crowned in Paris and in V, ii, King Charles reports that *the stout Parisians do reuolt*, the occurrence of I, i, and V, ii, being historically the same. And certainly Joan of Arc, who early in the play is the hero maiden⁷⁷ and who in Act V (by a wholly gratuitous addition to the chroniclers) accuses herself of unchastity and offers her body to visible Fiends, is far from a unified character. Even in the passage from I, iv, above quoted, it will be noted that Talbot in line 87 orders that Salisbury's body be removed from the turret as dead, in spite of the fact that Salisbury later *lifteth himself vp and groanes* at line 103, and then is again ordered borne out as still alive at line 110—apparently the result of lack of needed revision even in so brief a passage. And the well nigh chaotic act-and-scene division previously described is simply more evidence to the same effect. Clearly, the company who had moved in wintry weather to a new home across the river and who, during their first two weeks, were taking in an average of only two-thirds of their normal receipts for the season, must have been exceedingly anxious for the new play that, on its first production, sent Henslowe's share of the receipts soaring from his preceding average of 22s. 11d. to 78s. 5d.—a sum nearly three and one-half times as great. It may be added that in its drawing from four distinct sources—Halle, Holinshed, Fabian, and the source of the Talbot epitaph—and in treating these historical materials with unusual dramatic license, *1 Henry VI* presents a fundamental heterogeneity unparalleled in any English historical play in the Shakespearean canon. And finally, these facts will be found to be completely in harmony with the conclusions as to the authorship of the play to be hereafter presented.

It may, then, be here stated with considerable assurance that in all probability the play of *1 Henry VI* was written *ab initio* in the early weeks of 1592 and received its first production on any stage on Friday, March 3, of that year.

Further, it may be noted that inasmuch as the description given of the physique of Talbot in II, iii, 13-24, 50-52, is mani-

⁷⁷This, it will be shown, is certainly not the result of revision by Shakespeare.

festly not that of the gigantic Edward Alleyn, it is probable that the "Tragedian" who, according to Nashe, made the ten thousand spectators imagine that they beheld the old English hero "fresh bleeding," was none other than young Richard Burbage, who, as has already been pointed out, played⁷⁸ the principal "heavy rôles" in *2 Seven Deadly Sins* (under the name of *Four Plays in One*) three afternoons later.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ See *Henslowe Papers*, 129-32, 152.

⁷⁹ To the end of this section must be appended a note on Mr. E. K. Chambers' recent hypothesis (*Elizabethan Stage*, III, 97, 97 n. 2, 98, and 98 n. 3; and cf. 54) concerning the staging of *1 Henry VI*. He suggests that the walls of the various besieged cities were represented by a wall extending down the stage from back to front and dividing the stage into right and left sections, the one representing the place outside the city, the other serving as the "market-place" of Orleans in II, ii, apparently its only use. He also suggests that in I, iv, the shot was fired from the top of this wall at the "turrets," the latter being possibly located in "some window or balcony in the space above" the gallery (but under the "heavens"), "which DeWitt's drawing conceals from our view." The objections to this theory of the staging are many, falling under several heads. (1) It is quite unnecessary. At no time in the play does dialogue occur on both sides of the wall in the same scene, a temptation that, with such an arrangement, no real dramatist could resist. When characters enter a town, they invariably *exeunt* into silence, except as they make themselves audible on walls and tower. The sole apparent exception to this statement is II, ii, which takes place in the market-square at Orleans; but the stage has been completely cleared at the end of II, i, and early in the scene the audience is given notice of the change in the place of action by Talbot's words,

Bring forth the Body of old *Salisbury*,
And here aduance it in the Market-Place,
The middle Centure of this cursed Towne.

(I, iv, 4-6)

This, therefore, is merely a shift of scene in complete conformity with the usual custom. Otherwise, all the cities of the play are dramatically flat surfaces, being heard simply from top or front, never from the rear. As for the difficulty to which Mr. Chambers refers, of shooting, in I, iv, from a rear wall at a rear turret, it does not exist, since the shot was fired, as has already been shown, from the stage level, and not from the walls as erroneously indicated in the modern interpolation in the stage direction.

(2) Such a wall would be the most bulky and cumbrous property that anyone has ever, to my knowledge, suggested as employed on the

Elizabethan stage. It would have to be of a height well over a man's stature, with a solid platform capable of sustaining at least six persons at once, "Puzel, Dolphin, Reigneir, Alanson, and Souldiers" (I, vi, 1, stage direction); and it must be at least long enough to permit the attackers in II, i, to mount "several ways," Bedford ascending at "yond corner," Burgundy at "this [corner]," and Talbot "heere," evidently in the middle (II, i, 30-34), and at the same time it must allow the fleeing French immediately to "leape ore the walles" in the opposite direction between the "scaling Ladders" that must have been left in position. This huge, unmanageable property is conceived as drawn on and off the stage (possibly through the middle door, hypothetically with the aid of a "wheel" mentioned in one of Henslowe's lists of theatrical properties, and to a back-stage that no modern diagram of an Elizabethan theatre represents as having room for it) four times during the play, three of them for only one scene each (III, ii; IV, ii; V, iii, 45-194)—and, as has been said, quite unnecessarily!

(3) In general, the details of stage direction and of stage management are against the proposed manner of staging. The stage directions are "Enter on the Wall(e)s" (I, vi, 1; V, iii, 131), "Enter . . . within . . . on the Walls" (III, ii, 41), and "Enter . . . aloft" (IV, ii, 3), all inferring an immediate appearance in the elevated position without having to cross half the stage before mounting; and "within" always signifies back-stage. And not only is dialogue from the occupants of the various towns heard solely from upon or in front of the walls or the tower, but in I, vi, for the benefit of the audience the whole scene has been placed "on the Walls" although it would naturally occur on the ground level within the city and would certainly have been so played if half the stage had, as Mr. Chambers suggests, been reserved for scenes within the besieged towns. Then, too, half the stage allows too little space for the fighting scenes, especially in III, ii, where the conflict outside of Rouen takes place about the dying Bedford, who sits on a chair on the field, looking on. And the threefold attack on Orleans in II, i, is clearly devised for a wall at back, as a back-to-front wall would have no "corner" for Bedford or Burgundy at the front, and as Talbot is clearly given the place of honor in the middle, which is the place of honor only if the three are in a line parallel with the front line of the stage, while in a front-to-back line the front is the place of dominance for the leading actor in the scene. In short, the proposed theory of staging, so far as I can see, will not in any respect stand critical examination.

III

THE PROBLEM OF THE AUTHORSHIP

Before plunging into the Serbonian bog of the question, Who were the original authors of the play? we may glance at the evidence in the First Folio, the sole authority for the text, as to the nature and condition of the original manuscript.

That the manuscript was (1) the regular theatrical prompt-book employed in the theatre¹ and that it was (2) the work of men not in the habit themselves of conducting the rehearsals of their work, are both indicated by the fact that stage-directions concerning details of acting, costume, and stage-management, comparatively rare in the typical Shakespearean text, here occur frequently, and usually phrased without the crisp curtness of the practiced actor-playwright.² (3) That it was in the original handwriting of the various authors is indicated by the fact that, as we shall see, differences of spelling in the cases of certain proper names are so distributed and vary so consistently in accord

¹ See A. W. Pollard, "The Manuscript of Shakespeare's Plays," in his *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problem of the Transmission of his Text*, pp. 53-80, in which he demonstrates that "in the case of a play printed after having been regularly entered in the Stationers' Register there is a high probability that a prompt-copy would be supplied to the printer; and there is a further high probability that such a prompt-copy would be the manuscript handed over to the players by the author; and yet a further high probability that this manuscript would be in the author's autograph" (pp. 67-68). It is also a pertinent consideration that if the copies of the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* that passed into the printer's hands and were published respectively in 1594 and 1595, were the discarded prompt-books of those plays rendered useless after line-by-line revision and the consequent making of new prompt-books, the fact that the original prompt-book of *harey the vj* was never discarded, but had the new material simply inserted between the old pages, would be a sufficient reason for its not having similarly reached the publisher Millington's hands.

² Cf. I, ii, 21, 103; I, iii, 14, 28, 56, 69; I, iv, 56, 69, 97, 103; I, v, 1, 8, 12, 14, 26, 32, 39; II, i, 7, 38, 77; II, iii, 32, 60; III, i, 1, 73, 76, 85,

with the content and literary traits of the passages in which the variants occur as to make it impossible that they should originate either with play-house transcribers or with printing-house compositors, but are explicable only on a basis of difference in authorial manuscript. (4) There is no indication of neglect to cancel a passage superseded by revisions. Wherever a passage was rewritten, any necessary excision was made in a thorough and workmanlike manner. Similarly there is little indication of that method of revision that consists in rewriting brief passages on the margins of prompt-books. The recognized textual indications of this are³ (a) the occurrence of disturbances in the verse-lining of the text owing to the compositor's exact copying of the reviser's unmetrical line-division, which has arisen from the difficulty of writing a full-length pentameter line in the narrow marginal space of the manuscript, and (b) the occurrence, at the end of a speech, of end-stopt shortened lines, owing to the excision of a following passage. In the First Folio of *1 Henry VI* eleven lines have each been split, and printed and capitalized as two; but in each case the line is the first in a speech, and the split is evidently caused by the impossibility of printing the entire line in the limited space left after indenting the speech and naming the character who is to deliver it.⁴ Such cases have no significance as indicating revision, since throughout the First Folio it is the rule that, when a line cannot be accommodated within the width of the column, it shall be broken after the caesural pause and the second half be begun at the left margin and capitalized. Lines in which a final word is omitted, possibly because the compositor had difficulty in reading the manuscript, are found at I, iv, 95 (in the modern text emended by the insertion of *Nero*) and II, iv, 132 (in the modern text emended by the insertion of *sir*, which, however, leaves the line a tetrameter). Eleven lines that are less

103, 186; III, ii, 1, 25, 35, 40, 59, 109, 114; III, iii, 28, 30, 32, 35; III, iv, 37; IV, ii, 2, 38; IV, iii, 1; IV, iv, 1; IV, vii, 1, 17; V, iii, 12, 17, 19, 23, 29, 45, 59, 173, 184; V, v, 1.

³ See J. D. Wilson in *The Tempest*, New Cambridge edition, pp. xxxiii-xxxv.

⁴ I, i, 33; I, ii, 37; I, vi, 11 (a hexameter); II, iii, 28, 44; II, iv, 1; III, iii, 77, 90; III, iv, 38; IV, i, 133; V, iv, 165.

than the full pentameter occur⁵; but these are all merely the result of unskilful composition, and none is such as to render an excision at that point probable.⁶ There are only two passages in which an application of the principles of "critical bibliography"⁷ give clear evidence of interpolation, *i. e.*, at III, ii, 50-51, where two pentameter lines have been inartistically rearranged as three, and at IV, vii, 51-92, where a number of considerations, metrical and otherwise, combine to make revision indisputable; and a third possible case occurs at III, ii, 107-8. In general, where revisions or interpolations were made, they were apparently either of such length that they had to be written on inserted sheets, or they were very legibly inserted in the margin, probably as a rule the former. In short, the manuscript from which the compositor of *1 Henry VI* set up the printed text appears to have been in unusually satisfactory condition.

Passing now to a detailed examination of the question of authorship, as we found the very explicit theory of Fleay concerning the date of the play the most convenient point of entry for that problem, so we shall find his theories the best line of approach to this. It is also the better worth while to employ this method because Fleay's positiveness has not infrequently been the subject of more or less contemptuous disparagement by those who have not taken the trouble to check up his evidence in detail.

After summarizing in strictly chronological order the chief historical events of the play and attaching to them distinguishing capital letters in the following order:⁸ AAAAABAAAEEBC-EEED, Fleay says:⁹

⁵ At I, ii, 45; I, vi, 27; II, iii, 49, 60; III, i, 42; III, ii, 11; IV, vii, 92; V, iii, 68, 108, 144, 183.

⁶ In fact, the largely end-stopt versification renders an excision after a full line, if at all, almost the only possibility, so that in this play the test is almost of negligible value.

⁷ See conveniently *The Tempest*, New Cambridge ed., pp. xxxiv-xxxv, xli-xliii, 79-85, and 89-107 *passim*.

⁸ In which, in view of Fleay's later statement, the E's and the D's should be interchanged.

⁹ *A Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare*, 257-9.

"The capital letters prefixed to these dates will enable us to follow readily the arrangement of these events in the play. The A. group, comprising i. 1. 3, ii. 5, iii. 1, is manifestly by one writer. The time limits of his scenes are 1422 and 1426; the first scene contains allusions to events of a subsequent date, thrust in for dramatic effect without regard either to historical accuracy or the internal consistency of the play. Specially, the battle of Patay, the crowning of Charles, and the revolt of the French towns may be noted. It is hardly requisite to do more than read the opening speech to see that the author of these scenes was Marlowe. It may be noticed, however, that in these scenes, and in these only, we find [the spellings] Gloster (Gloucester elsewhere), Reynold (Reignier or Reigneir elsewhere), and Roän (monosyllabic elsewhere). All these scenes are laid in London.

"The B. group, i. 2. 3.¹⁰ 4. 5. 6, ii. 1. 2. 3, iii. 4, iv. 1., contains only events that happened between 1427 and 1430, the scene being laid at Orleans, Auvergne, or Paris. The bit of the battle of Patay, iii. 2. 103-108, thrust into the midst of scenes at Rouen in 1435, would probably belong to this group. It seems to be a preparation for iv. 1, stuck for dramatic purposes in a position historically most incongruous. The author of these scenes is not easy to identify; his work is rather colorless, yet minor coincidences with the known work of Robert Greene and Thomas Kyd point to one of them as the writer. In this group only we find the spellings: Joane de Puzel (Pucelle elsewhere), Reigneir (occasionally also Reignier), and Gloucester (Gloster elsewhere, except in one instance, where Gloucester is probably a misprint). There can be no doubt that these scenes are all by one author, and that not the writer of Group A., but very far inferior.

"Group C., iii. 2, 3, is very like Group B. in general handling, but has some marked characteristics: here, and here only, we find Burgonie (Burgundy or Burgundie elsewhere) and Roan monosyllabic; Pucelle (Puzel in group B.) and Joane (Jone in group D.) also differentiate it from these groups. The time is 1435, place Rouen. I conjecture the author to have been George Peele.

¹⁰ Act I, sc. iii, is above ascribed also to A.

"Group D., v. 2-5, is made up of the Joan of Arc story of 1430-1 and the Margaret match of 1443. This group has Gloucester invariably (Gloster in group A.), Jone (Joane in B., C.), Reignier (never Reigneir, as B.). The author of these scenes is without doubt Thomas Lodge. His versification is unmistakable, and the phrase 'cooling card' occurs in *Marius and Sylla*, and the older plays of *John* and *Leir* (both times in parts by Lodge). It has not been traced in Greene, Peele, or Marlowe."

There follows the evidence supporting Fleay's theory with regard to Shakespeare's authorship of the Talbot death-scenes, as already quoted,¹¹ together with the statement that this episode "is so different from, as well as so superior to, its surroundings, that in 1876 I suggested that Shakespeare might have written it. Mr. Swinburne has since sanctioned this opinion by adopting it."

Of course, one of the chief bases for this division, that of the spelling of certain proper names, is, as here employed, more or less mechanical; but for that reason it is all the more valuable, both as in general the result of the automatic operation of fixed spelling habits in the writer, and as not so liable to subjective errors of interpretation due to the personal equation of the investigator. Although largely ignored by commentators since Fleay's discovery of them, these points must be accorded the consideration they deserve. As Fleay's treatment is both incomplete and inaccurate (for instance, the spelling *Pucelle*, which he gives as typical of C., appears nowhere in the Folio text), I supply a synopsis of the scenes of the play with an accurate list of the spellings of the proper names in question, and of the occurrences of Fleay's other criteria, as they occur in the dialogue. The spellings of the same names in stage directions and before speeches I add in parenthesis as less authoritative, because possibly an editor's or compositor's modification of the author's abbreviations, or conceivably a prompter's insertion; but it will be observed that there is little variation between the material so set apart and that in the dialogue.

¹¹ See *supra*, pp. 12-13.

ACT I.

Sc. 1. The interrupted funeral of Henry V, with a Gloucester-Winchester dispute and news of Talbot's capture by the French. *Gloster* 2 occurrences (also in stage directions, 2); *Glost.* (before speeches 6); *Reynold* 1. *Roän* (for Rouen) dissyllabic, 1.

Sc. 2a (ll. 1-45). The French are worsted by the English near Orleans. *Reigneir* (in stage directions 2; before speeches 2).

Sc. 2b (ll. 46-150). Joan of Arc first meets Charles the Dauphin. *Reigneir* (before speeches 6); *Reignier* 1; *Ioane de Puzel* (in stage directions 1); *Ioane Puzel* (in stage directions 1); *Puzel* 1 (also before speeches 8).

Sc. 3. Gloucester and Winchester struggle for the possession of the Tower of London. *Gloster* 7, of which, however, 3 seem clearly to call for a trisyllabic scansion (also in stage directions 3); *Glost.* (before speeches 14); *Umpheir* (for [H]Umphrie), applied to Gloucester, 1.

Sc. 4. Talbot, Salisbury, and others are shot at on the Turret. *Ioane de Puzel* 1; *Puzel* 1.

Sc. 5-7. Joan meets Talbot and triumphs in the relief of Orleans. *Ioane de Puzel* 2 (also in stage directions 1); *Ioane* 1; *Puzel* 1 (also in stage directions 2; before speeches 1); *Reigneir* (in stage directions 1; before speeches 1).

ACT II.

Sc. 1. Talbot and the English retake Orleans by a night surprise. *Puzell* 1; *Ioane* 1 (also in stage directions 1; before speeches 2); *Reignier* (in stage directions 1); *Burgundy* 1 (also in stage directions 1).

Sc. 2. Talbot is invited to the Castle of Auvergne. *Ioane of Acre* 1; *Burgundie* (in stage directions 1).

Sc. 3. Talbot evades the trap of the Countess of Auvergne. No test-words present.

Sc. 4. (Interpolated by Shakespeare). York and Somerset begin the strife of the Roses in the Temple Garden. *Gloucester* 1.

Sc. 5. York hears the genealogical details of his claim to the throne from the dying Mortimer. No test-words present.

ACT III.

Sc. 1a (ll. 1-148). Gloucester accuses Winchester before the King. *Gloster* 5 (also in stage directions 2); *Humphrey of Gloster* 1; *Glost.* (before speeches 9); *Gloucester* 1; *Glo.* (before speeches 1).

Sc. 1b (ll. 149-178). The King restores York to his rights. *Gloster* 1; *Glost.* (before speeches 2); *Glo.* (before speeches 1).

Sc. 1c (ll. 179-193). Exeter forebodes ill from the dissension of Gloucester and Winchester. No test-words present.

Sc. 2. Joan by a stratagem enters Rouen and shows the flaming torch "at the top"; but Talbot retakes the town. *Pucell* 3 (also in stage

directions 4; before speeches 10); *Pucel* (clearly to save space) 1; *Burgonie* 5 (also in stage directions 2); *Reigneir* (in stage directions 1). *Roan* (for *Rouen*) monosyllabic, 7.

Sc. 3. Joan induces Burgundy to desert the English. *Ioane* 1; *Pucell* (in stage directions 1; before speeches 8); *Burgonie* 5; *Roan* monosyllabic, 1.

Sc. 4a (ll. 1-27). Talbot is knighted by King Henry at Paris. *Gloucester* 1 (also in stage directions 1). (In the text the word seems clearly trisyllabic.)

Sc. 4b (ll. 28-45). Vernon and Basset quarrel in defence of their respective masters, York and Somerset. No test words present.

(FOLIO) ACT IV.

Sc. 1a (*Modern IV*, i 1-77). Henry is crowned at Paris; Fastolfe brings news of the defection of Burgundy; Talbot arraigns Fastolfe for cowardice. *Glocester* (in stage directions 1); *Glo.* (before speeches 6); *Burgundy* 4.

Sc. 1b (*Modern IV*, i, 78-182). Vernon and Basset appeal to the King and lead to a fresh outbreak of the quarrel of York and Somerset. *Glo.* (before speech 1). No clear test-words present.

Sc. 1c (*Modern IV*, i, 183-195). Exeter forebodes ill from "This jarring discord of nobility." No test-words present.

Sc. 1d (*Modern IV*, ii.) Talbot is surrounded by the French at Bordeaux. No test-words present.

Sc. 1e (*Modern IV*, iii). York cannot send Talbot aid because of Somerset's delay. No test-words present.

Sc. 1f (*Modern IV*, iv). Somerset sends Talbot aid, but, through jealousy of York, too late. *Burgundie* 1; *Reignard* 1.

Sc. 1g-i (*Modern IV*, v; vi; vii, 1-50). Talbot and his son die in battle. *Burgundie* 1 (also in stage direction 1); *Pucell* (in stage direction 1).

Sc. 1j (*Modern IV*, vii, 51-96). Talbot's eulogy is pronounced before the French by Sir William Lucy. *Pucel* (before speech 1).

Sc. 2 (*Modern V*, 1). Gloucester informs the King of the proposals of peace and arranges the betrothal of the King to the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac. *Humfrey of Gloster* 1; *Glocester* (in stage direction 1); *Glo.* (before speeches 4).

Sc. 3a (*Modern V*, ii; 21 lines). The French forces advance toward Paris. *Ione* (in stage direction 1); *Pucel* (before speech 1); *Burgundy* (in stage direction 1); *Reignier* (in stage direction 1).

Sc. 3b (*Modern V*, iii, 1-44). Joan invokes her Fiends; is later captured by York. *Ione de Pucell* (in stage direction 1); *Burgundie* (in stage direction 1).

Sc. 3c (*Modern V*, iii, 45-195.) (Interpolated by Shakespeare.) Suffolk woos Margaret, daughter of Reignier, nominally for Henry.

Reignier 3 (also in stage directions 2); the phrase *a cooling card* occurs at line 84.

Sc. 3*d* (*Modern* V, iv, 1-93). Joan denies her father, endeavors to escape her fate by claiming pregnancy, and exits to the stake. *Ione* 6; *Ione of Aire* 1; *Pucell* (in stage direction 1; before speech 1); *Reignier* 1.

Sc. 3*e* (*Modern* V, iv, 94-175). For England Winchester, in the presence of York, concludes peace with France. *Reignier* (in stage direction 1).

(FOLIO) ACT V. (*Modern* V, v).

Sc. 1. (Not numbered. Interpolated.) Suffolk, despite Gloucester, persuades Henry to break with the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac and to wed Margaret. *Glocester* (in stage directions 2); *Gloucester* (before speech 1); *Glo.* (before speeches 3).

Upon examining the above spellings it is easy to discard a number of differences immediately as of no consequence. Such are the unique forms (evidently printer's misreadings) *Ioane of Acre* (II, ii, 20) and *Ione of Aire* (V, iv, 49) for *Joan of Arc*;¹² *Reynold* (I, i, 94) and *Reignard* (IV, iv, 27) for (probably) the forms *Reignier* and *Reigneir*, respectively, each with an *r* with a back-curved tail; and *Umpheir* (I, iii, 29) for [*H*]*Umphrie*. The *-y* and *-ie* of *Burgundy* are interchangeable (as they are in *Henry* throughout the play), and the same is probably true of the *-f-* and *-ph-* in *Humphrey* and of the *-ei-* and *-ie-* in the last syllable of *Reignier*. The final *-l* of *Pucell* may easily be dropped to save space in the setting up of the line; and the disappearance of the medial *-u-* in *Gloucester* is quite frequent in Holinshed. But when we have dismissed all these cases, a solid residue of typical and significant differences is left, which in a broad way confirms Fleay's view of an original quadruple authorship, although in drawing deductions from these, Fleay makes the two errors, (1) of following a kind of literary-archaeological line of procedure instead of taking into account natural dramaturgic methods, and (2) of considering all lines ordinarily classed as one scene in modern editions as written by one man, whether the

¹² Holinshed introduces Joan as *Ione de Are*, *Pusell de Dieu*, although Boswell-Stone consistently quotes the Holinshed passage with the form *Arc*. It is possible that at V, iv, 49, the writer actually wrote *Aire* for *Are*, and that at II, ii, 2, *Acre* was a printer's misreading for *Aire*.

various parts of the scene have a close relation or not. Let us proceed with a re-analysis of the evidence of the tests in the light of a number of other considerations.

I. THE A. SCENES

The four main scenes dealing with the Gloucester-Winchester rivalry (I, i, iii; III, ia; V, i) contain nineteen cases of the spelling *Gloster* and twenty-nine of the abbreviation *Glost.*; the spelling *Glocester* occurs once in the text at III, i, 49 (where it is scanned as a dissyllable) and once in a stage direction before V, i, 1. The overwhelming prevalence of the *Gloster* forms distinguishes these scenes from III, iv, the single scene of Fleay's B. group (exclusive of I, iii, which Fleay ascribes to A. as well as to B.), in which the same test-word again appears. On its single appearance in B.'s III, iv, the name is not only spelled *Gloucester*, but is scanned as a trisyllable. The only test of a mechanical nature cited by Fleay as distinguishing the work of A. from that of C. is the scansion of *Roan* (modern *Rouen*). Of this the single case in the work of A. (I, i, 65) is unmistakably dissyllabic. The nine occurrences of the name (four medial and five final) in the 223 lines of C. may be taken as almost certainly monosyllabic, since both trisyllabic feet and feminine endings are unusual with C.¹³ Differentiation between the work of A. and that of D. does not appear in spelling, and must be sought upon other grounds.

The Gloucester-Winchester passages immediately suggest Marlowe, all of whose greatest works emphasize a central study of some form of ambitious egotism. Conquest, magic, wealth, royal flattery, wholesale murder, are simply means by which Tamburlaine, Faustus, Barabas, Gaveston, and the Duke of Guise respectively satisfy their craving for dominance. Winchester is but another of their tribe. Further, Marlowe's more mature dramas except *Edward II* tend to inveigh against, not Christianity, but the non-Christian conduct of its professors. Here the spirit of passages in *2 Tamburlaine*, *The Jew of Malta*, and *The Massacre*

¹³The exact percentages of clear cases for C. are: lines containing a trisyllabic foot, 2.2; feminine endings, 3.1.

at Paris, again flames out in Gloucester's attack on the Cardinal who went to church "to pray against thy foes" (I, i, 41-43), and who, as Bishop of Winchester, had licensed prostitutes in the stews of the Bankside—

Thou that giv'st Whores Indulgences to sinne.¹⁴

It will be helpful in coming to some conclusion in the matter if we precede a detailed discussion of the internal evidence as to authorship by considering the question of the chronology of Marlowe's plays.¹⁵ *Dido, Queen of Carthage* is probably his earliest, but may have been revised toward the end of his life. *Tamburlaine, Part I* was probably written not later than the beginning of 1587; *Part II* has as its latest limit March 29, 1588, the date of the licensing of Greene's *Perimedes*, in the preface of which work it is alluded to. *The Jew of Malta*, produced as an old play by Strange's Men at the Rose on February 19, 1592, appears from the third line,

And now the *Guize* is dead,

to have been composed in its original form shortly after the assassination of the Duke of Guise on December 23, 1588, that is, at some time early in 1589. *Edward II* appears to antedate April 3, 1592, the date of the licensing of *Arden of Feversham*, which play contains "six undoubted pilferings" from the drama named, and is the first of a number of plays containing similar echoes. Dr. Brooke is therefore inclined to place the first production of *Edward II* in 1591. *Dr. Faustus*, based upon the English translation of the *Faustbuch* by "P. F., Gent.," cannot be earlier than 1592, the date of the earliest known edition of that work, unless there is a preceding edition of P. F.'s translation of which we

¹⁴ I, iii, 35. This line, and the following use of the proverbial phrase *Winchester goose* (I, iii, 53) were pretty certainly indignant thrusts at the derivation of revenue by the Bishop of Winchester, dwelling at Winchester House on the Bankside, from the houses of ill-fame within a stone's throw of the Rose in the writer's own day.

¹⁵ The following discussion in this paragraph is based upon the article on "The Marlowe Canon," by Dr. Tucker Brooke, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXVII, 367-417, the most detailed and authoritative on the subject at date. For the conclusions in the ensuing paragraphs the present writer is responsible.

know nothing, or unless Marlowe had the use of P. F.'s manuscript before its publication.

The Massacre at Paris is generally identified with the "Tragedy of the Guyes" recorded by Henslowe as a new play produced by Strange's Men on January 29, 1592-3. Of all Marlowe's plays it is the most violent with regard to crimes committed by reason of, or under cover of, religious bigotry. Under the circumstances it may be safely placed before the publication of Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* in September, 1592, in which the dying man openly accused Marlowe of atheism. As this was then a political offence, punishable by torture and execution, the publicity of this accusation would force Marlowe into caution; and Greene's rash freedom of speech may be the reason for Marlowe's apparently turning, at the very end, to such pre-Christian, and therefore neutral, projects as the *Hero and Leander* (left unfinished at his death) and possibly the revision of the earlier *Dido*. Why, then, was *The Massacre at Paris* not produced until at least five months later? Probably because, partly by reason of legal inhibition on account of certain theatrical riots and partly because of the plague, the company gave no London performances between June 23 and December 29, 1592. Presuming that they had purchased the *Massacre* from Marlowe about June 15, the date of their last new production before the inhibition, then the action of the authorities on June 23 would necessarily have prevented the immediate London production of the *Massacre*, and during their following travels in the provinces the company would naturally repeat the well-known London successes already in their repertoire and would withhold the new play for the *éclat* and profits of a London first day on their return to the city. The probabilities would therefore point strongly toward Marlowe's having sold *The Massacre at Paris* to the Strange company shortly before June 23. Dr. Tucker Brooke would assign its composition to the year 1590.¹⁶ Any date between 1590

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 378. Concerning this matter, Dr. Brooks says (*Authorship of 2 and 3 Henry VI*, 173-4) that "in regard to *The Massacre at Paris*, though the material for inference is rather scanty, the probabilities seem to favor the priority of that play to *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy*," the evidence being two pairs of parallels in which the pas-

and June, 1592, would accord excellently with the close relation between *The Massacre*, *Edward II*, *The Contention*, and *The True Tragedy*, as indicated by the many duplications of thought and phraseology in these four plays,¹⁷ a relation that we shall find to include *harey the vj*.

With regard to the two sequential plays, the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*, the "tiger's heart" line from the *True Tragedy* was parodied by Greene, evidently as well-known, just before September 3, 1592. It is usually taken for granted that Greene, in quoting it, is referring to Shakespeare's "plagiarism" of it in *3 Henry VI*. But the whole theory of such an accusation is, as Dr. Brooke has well shown,¹⁸ baseless. Further, the line is almost always referred to by critics as simply "a line that occurs in the *True Tragedy*" or "in *3 Henry VI*." But this is an understatement, born of our habit of considering these plays from the standpoint of the study rather than of the theatre. It is really the opening line of the climactic accusation in perhaps the most powerful speech of invective that had, up to that time, ever been heard upon the English stage—a speech for which Shakespeare, in revision, could do little more than slightly mend the metre. In it the captured York, surrounded by his triumphant foes and confronting the bitterest of them, Queen Margaret, scathingly answers her heartless mockery, his passion mounting step by step

sages in *The Massacre at Paris* seem to fit into their context more naturally than the corresponding passages in *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy* and therefore appear to have the better claim to be considered the earlier. The support for this view is indeed slender; but it is of course not impossible that *The Massacre* was written, or at least begun, say in 1590 or 1591, before the composition of the other two plays, and that its completion, or sale, or staging, was for some reason unduly delayed. This possibility in no way invalidates the evidence above presented as to the time relations between *The Contention*, *The True Tragedy*, and *harey the vj*, which alone is the point upon which the following argument is based. Neither does the placing of *The Massacre* at the later date indicated by the historical considerations, I have noted above, in any way invalidate Dr. Brooke's argument, which rests primarily upon the separate question of *Edward II*'s being later in date than *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy*.

¹⁷ See Dr. Tucker Brooke, *Authorship of 2 and 3 Henry VI*, 164-71.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-2. Cf. below, p. 150, n. 12.

until, holding out to her the napkin soaked with the blood of his little son, Rutland, he comes to the crowning instance of her unwomanliness.

Oh Tygers hart wrapt in a womans hide?
 Howv couldst thou draine the life bloud of the childe,
 To bid the father wipe his eies withall,
 And yet be seene to beare a womans face?¹⁹

And in the next four lines his self-control breaks, and the rest of the fifty-four lines is given in tears. The speech on the stage must have been memorable, and the quoted line, the chilled steel point to the auger as it bores down into the recollection, unforgettable. There is no necessity whatever for believing that Greene is referring to Shakespeare's revision in quoting the line: and, as will be shown later,²⁰ other considerations make it probable that the revision was not made until after Greene's death, and that the fact that Shakespeare afterward, in the course of his professional duties, revised the play in which it occurs is, from the standpoint of the *Groatsworth* passage, purely accidental.²¹ Greene was simply applying to the upstart Shakespeare one of the most scorching lines that he had ever heard. There is no reason for considering that the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* belong elsewhere than in the position most natural to them in Marlowe's chronology, namely, the year 1591. This probability will be strengthened if it shall appear that the treatment of certain characters and situations in the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* represents a less advanced stage in their conception than that of the same characters and situations in *1 Henry VI*, when that drama was produced on March 3, 1592, and that their develop-

¹⁹ Praetorius reprint of Quarto of 1595, p. 20.

²⁰ See below, p. 155, n. 22.

²¹ Indeed, Shakespeare himself later twice capitalized the popularity of the speech in the *True Tragedy* in connection with *Richard III*. In I, iii, 174-188, of the latter play, in rapid dramatic dialogue he recalls to his audience in considerable detail the events of the earlier memorable scene, and in IV, iv, 274-78, he not only again rapidly redepicts the scene but even deliberately parallels the line,

To bid the father wipe his eies withall,
 the second line following the *Tygers hart* line. And all this within two years of Greene's attack! Apparently Greene's use of the passage was of less consequence to Shakespeare than to his commentators.

ment in the latter is such as would naturally result from a preceding popularity of the two former plays. There is considerable internal evidence to that effect, as will be indicated in the following six paragraphs.

In the *Contention* the quarrel between Winchester and Gloucester is apparently neither by implication so well known to the theatre-goer nor, in the beginning of the play, so outspoken as in *1 Henry VI*. The Protector Gloucester, reading the terms of agreement concluded by Suffolk between England and France on the occasion of the wedding of Henry and Margaret, "It is further agreed betweene them, that the Dutchesse [duchies] of Anioy and of Maine, shall be released and delivered over to the King her fa——," suddenly stops.²²

King. How now vnckle, whats the matter that you stay so sodenly?

Humph[rey]. Pardon my Lord, a sodain qualme came ouer my hart, Which dimmes mine eyes that I can reade no more.

Vnckle of *Winchester*, I pray you reade on.

Here, in recognition of the improbability of Gloucester's turning to Winchester under the circumstances, in the later edition of 1619 the last line is changed to "My Lord of Yorke, I pray do you reade on," and Yorke, instead of Winchester, continues. In the 1623 version of *2 Henry VI* Shakespeare improves the passage by transferring the line from Gloucester to the King, though he loses in spontaneity by filling out the word "father" preceding. There can be little doubt that the 1594 reading in the *Contention* is that of Marlowe's first draft. If, as I believe will later be evident, Marlowe's hand is certainly to be found in the Gloucester-Winchester scenes of *1 Henry VI*, it would seem that in the *Contention*, when he made Gloucester appeal to Winchester for aid, he had not yet conceived the full bitterness of the feeling between the Protector and the Cardinal.

Later in the same scene in the *Contention*, Gloucester, referring to Winchester, says,

And haue not I and mine vnckle *Bewford* heere,
Done all we could to keepe that land [France] in peace?
And is all our labours then spent in vaine?—²³

²² I, i, 52.

²³ *Contention*, ed. 1594, I, 73-75.

a reference wholly out of keeping with Winchester's complaint in *1 Henry VI*²⁴ that he is "Jack out of Office" and again not consonant with Gloucester's outspoken hostility to him in *Part 1*. After a bitter speech from Winchester, Gloucester exits from the scene in the *Contention* with

Nay my Lord, tis not my words that troubles you,
But my presence, proud Prelate as thou art:
But ile begone, and giue thee leaue to speake.
Farewell my Lords, and say when I am gone,
I prophesied *France* would be lost ere long.²⁵

Winchester then explains,

My Lords, you know he is my great enemy,
as if not merely they, but the audience too, needed to be told so. After commenting on the love the commons bear the Duke, Winchester leaves with the expressed intention to "laie a plot to heave him from his seate," as if attempting it for the first time, although in *Part I*²⁶ he has already uttered the more extreme threat,

Abominable *Gloster*, guard thy Head,
For I intend to haue it, ere long.

A few lines later in the *Contention* Salisbury says concerning Winchester,

Oft haue I seene this haughtie Cardinall
Sweare, and forswear himselfe, and braue it out,
More like a Ruffin then a man of Church.²⁷

This again is technically the treatment of a character who is new to the audience.

In scene iii, lines 70-99, of the *Contention* there is again an opening for a quarrel between Gloucester and Winchester, but Marlowe makes Gloucester avoid it. Finally, however, in scene v, the strife breaks out openly:

King . . .
Vnckle Gloster, how hie your Hawke did sore?
And on a sodaine soust the Partridge downe.

²⁴ I, i, 175.

²⁵ *Contention*, I, 88-92.

²⁶ I, iii, 87-88.

²⁷ *Contention*, I, 117-119.

Suffolke. No marvell if it please your Maiestie
My Lord Protector's Hawke done towre so well,
He knowes his maister loues to be aloft.

Humphrey. Faith my Lord, it is but a base minde
That can sore no higher than a Falkons pitch.

Card. I thought your grace would be aboue the cloudes.

Humph. I my Lord Cardinall, were it not good
Your grace could flie to heauen.

Card. Thy heauen is on earth, thy words and thoughts
beat on a Crowne, proude Protector, dangerous Peere, to smooth
it thus with King and common-wealth.

Humphrey. How now my Lord, why this is more than needs,
Church-men so bote. Good vnckle, can you doate.

Suffolke. Why not Hauing so good a quarrell & so bad a
cause.

Humphrey. As how, my Lord?

Suffolke. As you, my Lord. And it like your Lordly Lords
Protectorship.

Humphrey. Why Suffolke, England knowes thy insolence.

Queene. And thy ambition Gloster.

King. Cease gentle Queene, and whet not on these furious
Lords to wrath, for blessed are the peace-makers on earth.

Card. Let me be blessed for the peace I make,
Against this proud Protector with my sword.

Humphrey. Faith holy vnckle, I would it were come to that.

Cardinall. Even when thou darest.

Humphrey. Dare. I tell thee Priest, Plantagenets could
neuer brooke the dare.

Card. I am Plantagenet as well as thou, and sonne to Iohn
of Gaunt.

Humph. In Bastardie.

Cardin. I scorne thy words.

Humph. Make vp no factious numbers, but euen in thine
own person meete me at the East end of the groue.

Card. Heres my hand, I will.

King. Why how now Lords?

Card. Faith Cousin Gloster, had not your man cast off so
soone, we had had more sport to day. Come with thy swoord
and buckler.

Humphrey. Faith Priest, Ile shaue your Crowne.

Cardinall. Protector, protect thy selfe well.

King. The wind growes high, so doth your chollour Lords.²⁸

²⁸ *Contention*, ed. 1594, v, 6-49.

Here, it will be observed, the quarrel grows up gradually, is forced on Gloucester, and only gradually centres about Gloucester and Winchester.

In scene ix of the *Contention* the Duke is arrested and committed to the custody of Winchester, and in scene x, as in 2 *Henry VI*, is strangled in his bed by Winchester's orders. Finally, in scene xi, Winchester dies, haunted by Duke Humphrey's ghost and giving no sign of expectation of "heavenly blisse"; and Salisbury comments:

So bad an ende did neuer none behold,
But as his death, so was his life in all.²⁹

That the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* were popular successes is attested by Greene's quotation of the "tiger's heart" line; by the fact that Strange's Men thought it worth while to obtain possession of them, either in the original or in the revised form, not very long after; by the registration of the former for printing within some two years; and by the facts that the two plays passed through three editions each before being included in the First Folio, and that Shakespeare, in many parts of the *True Tragedy* at least, did little in revision but to emend them metrically and rhetorically. Moreover, the title page of the edition of the *Contention* of 1594 features the scene of "the death of the good Duke Humphrey" and the "Tragicall end of the proud Cardinall of VVinchester."

Now in the light of these facts it is certainly very significant that throughout 1 *Henry VI*, although the scene is supposedly laid at an earlier historical date, the struggle between Gloucester and Winchester is nevertheless in a more advanced stage and the facts stated in the *Contention* are taken for granted by the author. Even in the opening scene of *Part 1* the enmity between Gloucester and Winchester is an established, and apparently an expected, fact. It bursts out without reserve at the earliest opportunity. At I, i, 32,³⁰ Winchester, referring to the dead Henry V, says:

The Churches Prayers made him so prosperous.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, xi, 17-18.

³⁰ As will be shown hereafter, there is no evidence, stylistic or otherwise, that any part of the opening scene of 1 *Henry VI* was the later

Gloucester immediately turns upon him with:

The Church? where is it?
 Had not Church-men pray'd,
 His thred of Life had not so soone decay'd.
 None doe you like, but an effeminate Prince,
 Whom like a Schoole-boy you may over-awe.
Winch[ester]. *Gloster*, what ere we like, thou art Protector,
 And lookest to command the Prince and Realme.
 Thy Wife is proud, she holdeth thee in awe,
 More then God or Religious Church-men may.
Glost[er]. Name not Religion, for thou lou'st the Flesh,
 And ne're throughout the yeere to Church thou go'st,
 Except it be to pray against thy foes.

Though Gloucester is now the attacking party, the mutual recriminations are identical in nature. Gloucester is accused of would-be autocracy and Winchester of a life totally unworthy of his office. The reference to Gloucester's wife is particularly significant. It is manifestly an echo from the *Contention*, in the early scenes of which she is an important character, a foil to Gloucester. There is no further allusion to her in this play, and the reference here would mean little, if anything, to one not familiar with the other drama. The lines,

None doe you like, but an effeminate Prince,
 Whom like a Schoole-boy you may over-awe,²¹

are also significant as suggested by the situation of Winchester in the *Contention*, in which play he is struggling for the control of the still "protected" Henry VI; they are not in harmony with the circumstances of the scene in which they occur, in which neither Winchester nor Gloucester has yet been brought into contact with an "effeminate Prince," the heroic Henry V having just died and Henry VI being but nine months old.

It is contrary to all likelihood, in the light of the known popularity of *harey the vj*, that the characters of Gloucester and Winchester in the *Contention* should, if that play had been written later than *harey the vj*, have been treated as characters new

product of Shakespeare's pen. As a whole it belongs to the play of March 3, 1592.

²¹ I, i, 35-36.

to the audience, and that the relations between the Protector and the Cardinal should have been so mildly conceived after the fiery quarrels of *harey the vj*. Note, too, that to suppose that the *Contention* was written after *harey the vj* leaves only three and one-half months, an impossibly short time, for the writing and the production of the closely connected *Contention* and *True Tragedy* before June 23, the last date when Greene could have heard from the stage the "tiger's heart" line of the latter play.

The four plays of Marlowe, then, that are nearest in time of composition to *1 Henry VI* are: the indissolubly connected *First Part of the Contention betwixt the Two Famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster* and *True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, both pretty clearly dating before *1 Henry VI*, probably assignable to the year 1591, and the property of Pembroke's Men by evidence of the title-page of the first quarto of the latter; *Edward II*, best assigned also to 1591, and also the property of Pembroke's Men by the testimony of the title-page of the first quarto; and *The Massacre at Paris*, of uncertain date of composition, but the property of Strange's Men, and probably sold to them by Marlowe about June of 1592. Now, if these are rightly placed, what are the *a priori* probabilities in the matter of *1 Henry VI*? The newly reorganized Strange's Men in February, 1592, were the court favorites of the day and bade fair to become the popular favorites. Their new head was Edward Alleyn, formerly of the Admiral's Men. Alleyn's finest parts, Tamburlaine and Barabas, were the work of Marlowe, the famous "gracer of Tragedians," as Greene called him, and the book of *The Jew of Malta* was apparently Alleyn's personal property.³² The company badly needed a fresh and powerful play for their new theatrical venture on the Surrey shore. To whom should Alleyn turn but to Marlowe? And was it not to Marlowe's interest to associate himself with the new and strong theatrical combination, even on a "rush order," requiring collaboration? And to what material would Marlowe most naturally turn but to a period of English history in which he had recently in imagination been living, and in which some of his most recent

³² *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg, II, 151.

successes had been made? And in the course of the collaboration, what characters and scenes would he most naturally choose to develop as his part of the work but those of the "Proud Cardinall of Winchester," whose "Tragicall end" is featured on the title-page of the *Contention*, and the dominant Duke of York, the advertising power of whose name was so great that it gave the title to the *True Tragedy*, although the Duke himself dies before the play is one-quarter finished? And does not the great success of *harey the vj* further help to explain the fact that Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* was soon after produced as a new play by Strange's Men rather than by Pembroke's company? And while we cannot be positive as to the original ownership of *Dr. Faustus*, does not the fact that its first recorded performance occurs soon after Alleyn had rejoined the Admiral's Men, when it was given October 2, 1594,³³ as an old play, suggest that it also had been purchased by Alleyn from Marlowe, presumably during the time³⁴ when Strange's Men, having left Henslowe's business management to travel, are for the time lost to view, and that it, like the *Jew of Malta*, went with Alleyn as his personal property when

³³ *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg, I, 19; II, 35.

³⁴ This is, of course, on the supposition that *Dr. Faustus* dates to late 1592, which the conditioning circumstances of the earliest known year of publication of its source, 1592, and the date of Marlowe's death, June, 1593, render highly probable. The elevation of the Lord Admiral to the title of Earl of Nottingham, in 1596, and the corresponding change in the title of the company, completely account for the ascription of the play to the Earl of Nottingham's Men on the title page of the quarto of 1604, without reference to the older company of the same title. In view of Greene's attack on Marlowe's "atheism" in early September, 1592, it is perhaps worth suggesting that the subject of the *Faustus*, which play contains no disrespectful word concerning religion except those assigned to one notoriously doomed to perdition and in which the demons themselves bear oral testimony to fundamental truths of Christianity, may have been chosen by Marlowe partly in self-defence as a subject both religious and distinctly orthodox (cf. vi, 12-16; xiii, 47-48, 80-82, 115-120; xiv, 80-84, 108) and may have had intentionally inserted, in explanation, his conception of the nature of spiritual punishment (iii, 80-84, 115-137), which, far from denying the theory, broadened and deepened the mediæval conception. This would account for the fact that here, as nowhere else in his dramas, do we get Marlowe's religious views.

he rejoined the Admiral's Men in 1594? This chain of probabilities exactly fits all the known facts concerning the plays in question, once *harey the vj* takes its place in the list.

As we proceed to examine in detail the internal evidence in the Winchester-Gloucester and the allied scenes as to the presence of Marlowe's hand in *1 Henry VI*, we must also answer the question, How far does the present text of them represent, not the original, but a rewriting by Shakespeare? In the Winchester-Gloucester passages Dr. H. D. Gray believes that he finds "some evidences of Shakespeare's work." "In the two important scenes which show the beginning of the quarrel and its culmination," he says,³⁵ "there is a certain eloquence and majesty for which one will look in vain throughout the pages of Greene and Peele. There is something Marlowesque in the opening lines and other bits; but I think Marlowe himself cannot be read into this drama." It is only fair to observe that there is here great danger of arguing in a circle—of assigning the finest passages to Shakespeare and then finding little worthy the genius of Marlowe in what is left. And it is reasonable to insist that where, in addition to the *a priori* probabilities, there is also clear internal evidence for Marlowe's general authorship of certain sections, only strong opposing stylistic evidence will justify us in the decision that a given passage within those sections was written by Shakespeare rather than by the most gifted of his predecessors. We must carefully examine the Gloucester-Winchester and the allied scenes with a view to distinguishing between Shakespearean revision and the original text, as well as to ascertaining what evidence, if any, points to Marlowe as the writer of the latter.

What tests shall we apply in distinguishing between the work of Marlowe and that of Shakespeare? Certain metrical differences are admitted to be important in this connection. (a) Dr. Gray points out³⁶ that Marlowe never rises to as high as four per cent. of feminine endings in any play taken in its entirety;³⁷

³⁵ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII, 374.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 369.

³⁷ According to my count, *The Jew of Malta* rises to 4.4 per cent. Dr. Tucker Brooke unaccountably assigns 10½ per cent. to that play. (*Authorship of 2 and 3 Henry VI*, p. 181.)

and (*b*) Dr. Tucker Brooke³⁸ tabulates the lines with a pyrrhic final foot (as in "Before we part with our posses-si-on") as 13½ per cent. in *Edward II*, 14 per cent. in the *Massacre at Paris*, and 18 per cent. in the *Jew of Malta*, as opposed to only 9 per cent. in Shakespeare's *Richard III*.

Dr. Gray also suggests³⁹ as an indication of Shakespearean interpolation (*c*) "Shakespeare's remarkable adjective groupings, . . . a grouping of words that requires of us a sudden expansion of the imagination,—of adjectives each appropriate but not belonging together until combined in a line of great poetry," such as Hamlet's

—why the sepulchre

Hath oped his ponderous and marble jaws.

In this connection Dr. Brooke⁴⁰ likewise calls attention to (*d*) Shakespeare's "bold use of transferred adjectives," such as "this pale and angry rose"⁴¹ and (*e*) to his fanciful metaphors and similes, such as

Were growing time once ripened to my will.⁴²

We may further quote the interesting results of an investigation by Dr. F. G. Hubbard⁴³ concerning (*f*) the occurrence of the line in which a combination of pronominal word, adjective, and noun in the first half is balanced against a similar combination in the second half, as

The fainting army of that foolish king.⁴⁴

In this article Dr. Hubbard lists⁴⁵ 5 and 4 occurrences of this type of line in Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* and *Edward II* respectively, 4 and 5 in the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* respectively, 7 and 10 in Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, 181.

³⁹ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII, 369, n. 4.

⁴⁰ Yale ed. of *1 Henry VI*, 142-3.

⁴¹ *1 Henry VI*, II, iv, 107.

⁴² *1 Henry VI*, II, iv, 99.

⁴³ "A Type of Blank Verse found in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII, 68-80.

⁴⁴ *Tamburlaine*, II, iii, 660.

⁴⁵ I quote the figures for only those plays presumably nearest to *1 Henry VI* in date.

and *James IV* respectively, 12 and 9 in Peele's *Battle of Alcazar* and *Edward I* respectively, and in Shakespeare's historical plays a scale rising from 10 and 3 in *2 Henry VI* and *3 Henry VI* respectively (the latter being much less revised from its Marlowan original than the former) to 40 each in *Richard III* and *King John*, and then again declining to 10 in *Henry V*.

I offer first the general metrical evidence as to the five of Marlowe's plays nearest in date, the three of Shakespeare's plays that are nearest in date and unrevised, and the various scenes of the Winchester-Gloucester and York-Somerset plots of *1 Henry VI*, the latter being divided into their separate parts where Shakespearean or other influence is to be suspected as having modified the work of the original author.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ I quote the figures of Brooke (*2 and 3 Henry VI*, p. 181) for the plays of Marlowe (correcting his statement concerning the feminine endings of *The Jew of Malta*) and for *Richard III*. The remaining figures are my own. Dr. Brooke gives statistics for the run-on lines also, but this criterion is useless for comparative purposes unless the computations for all the plays involved are made by the same person following the same standard as to the degree of closeness of meaning necessary for the inclusion of a line in the run-on category. The other two criteria will serve our purpose. But it should be pointed out that the figures for the final pyrrhic are somewhat subjective. In the following list, in which the last syllables grade from unaccented to secondary accent with quantitative complications, just where do we cross the line from pyrrhic to iambus: *posses-si-on*, *officer*, *injury*, *relig-i-ous*, *conspicuous*, *kindnesses*, *Ephesus*, *conference*, *acknowledgment*? The matter is further complicated by questions of differences due to Elizabethan pronunciation, differences due to stage delivery, and differences due to the involuntary strengthening of the final syllable in answer to a rhyme-word. The feminine ending is the most reliable of these tests.

MARLOWE

	Percentage of feminine endings	Percentage of pyrrhic fifth ft.	Number of metrical lines
<i>Jew of Malta</i>	4.4	18	1811
<i>Contention</i>	4.0	7	1254
<i>True Tragedy</i>	7.0	10	1865
<i>Edward II</i>	4.3	13.5	2519
<i>Massacre at Paris</i>	2.0	14	1039

SHAKESPEARE

Comedy of Errors

(Shakespeare's section,

I, ii, 1, to V, i, 281)	16.6	4.7	853
<i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>	18.5	3.8	1518
<i>Richard III</i>	19.0	9	3412

I HENRY VI

The Winchester scenes:

I, i, 1-107, 141-177	2.1	13.2	144
I, i, 108-140	17.1	24.2	33
I, iii	12.0	10.5	85
III, i, 1-40	15.0	2.5	40
III, 41-148	2.7	12.9	108
V, i	9.6	20.9	62

The York scenes:

II, iv	25.3	7.4	134
II, v	3.1	9.2	129
III, i, 149-186	0.0	20.3	54
III, i, 187-201	0.0	6.6	15
III, iv, 28-45	0.0	11.1	18
IV, i, 78-173	9.3	7.3	96
IV, i, 174-194	9.5	19.5	21

It is of course natural that in the comparatively short passages of *1 Henry VI* above listed there should be considerable variation in the results of the metrical tests. It is only in passages of several hundreds of lines that averages on metrical criteria can be expected to be fairly consistent. Nevertheless, observe that except for II, iv, which all modern commentators agree in assigning to Shakespeare; I, i, 108-140, which is clearly not Marlowe's, but which the 24.2 per cent. of pyrrhic endings quite as certainly forbids assigning to Shakespeare, and which we shall see should go elsewhere; I, iii, which both sets of figures place between Shakespeare and Marlowe, and which also we shall see has another origin; and III, i, 1-40, and IV, i, 78-194, with V, i—all three to be discussed later; in the rest of the passages cited, including 452 lines out of the total of 939, the metrical criteria give no hint of Shakespeare's hand and are wholly harmonious with the theory of Marlowe's authorship.

We turn next to an examination of the scenes in detail.

(a) I, i, 1-101, 147-77.

The opening scene of *1 Henry VI* is a studied preparation for the various elements in the ensuing play, combining with the outbreak of the Gloucester-Winchester dispute a vivid relation of the capture by the French of the heroic Talbot, together with an adroit hint⁴⁷ foreshadowing the sorcery of Joan of Arc. It shows a realization of the power of detailed climax found, I believe, nowhere as in Marlowe among the pre-Shakespeareans. The handling of the metre is skilful and the style in general is distinctive. Omitting from our present consideration for the time being the passage in which the Third Messenger relates the capture of Talbot, there are 2.1 per cent. of feminine endings and 13.2 per cent. of pyrrhic fifth feet. The evidence of these figures against Shakespeare's authorship is corroborated by the ear of one of the most sensitive critics in English literary history. Says Coleridge⁴⁸ concerning the opening speech, "Read aloud any two or three passages in blank verse even from Shakespeare's earliest dramas, as *Love's Labour's Lost*, or *Romeo and Juliet*; and then read in the same

⁴⁷ Lines 25-27.

⁴⁸ *Works* (ed. Mrs. H. N. Coleridge), IV, 132-33.

way this speech, with especial attention to the metre; and if you do not feel the impossibility of the latter having been written by Shakespeare, all that I may suggest is, that you may have ears,—for so has another animal,—but an ear you cannot have, *me judice*." I know of no commentator who has suggested that the speech in question was either interpolated or rewritten by Shakespeare; but where in the scene can it be shown that the style changes into a Shakespearean metrical movement? And who but Marlowe was capable of writing the speech as it stands?

This opening scene is also rich in echoes, in the true Marlowan manner,⁴⁹ from Marlowe's other works. Two of them are closely linked in the opening speech referred to by Coleridge as certainly, not Shakespeare's.

Comets importing change of Times and States,
Brandish your crystall Tresses in the Skie,
And with them scourge the bad reuolting Stars,
That haue consented vnto Henries death.

The first line is probably echoed in Marlowe's *Lucan*, line 527:

And Commets that presage the fal of kingdoms;

the second certainly closely parallels *Tamburlaine*, line 1922:

Shaking her silver tresses in the air.

Other similar parallels in the scene are:

(3) *True Tragedy*, xii, 64:

Her lookes are all repleat with maiestie.

1 *Henry VI*, I, i, 12:

His sparkling Eyes, repleat with wrathfull fire.

(4) *True Tragedy*, i, 53:

The hope thereof, makes Clifford mourn in steel.

1 *Henry VI*, I, i, 17:

We mourn in black, why mourn we not in blood?

(Compare also *True Tragedy*, xiii, 140-41:

Tell him my mourning weedes be laide aside,
And I am readie to put armour on.)

⁴⁹ Dr. Brooke (*Authorship of 2 and 3 Henry VI*, pp. 161-171) lists no less than 53 series of parallel passages, of from two to six members each, in various plays by Marlowe, including the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*.

(5) *Contention*, viii, 9:

That earst did follow thy proud Chariot wheelles,

Massacre at Paris, 991:

And he shall follow my proud Chariots wheelles.

Edward II, 174:

With captiue kings at his triumphant Carre.

1 Henry VI, I, i, 22:

Like Captiues bound to a Triumphant Carre.

(6) *Contention*, iii, 49-50:

But still must be protected like a childe,

And governed by that ambitious Duke.

Edward II, 1336-7:

As though your highnes were a schoole boy still,

And must be awde and governd like a child.

1 Henry VI, I, i, 35-36:

None doe you like, but an effeminate Prince,

Whom like a Schoole-boy you may ouer-awe.

(7) *Contention*, v, 136:

That proud dame Elnor our Protectors wife.

1 Henry VI, I, i, 39:

Thy Wife is proud. (Addressed to the Protector.)

(8) *Jew of Malta*, 758:

Instead of gold,

Wee'le send thee bullets wrapped in smoake and fire.

1 Henry VI, I, i, 46:

In stead of Gold, wee'le offer vp our Armes.

(9) *Tamburlaine*, 4021:

Haling him headlong to the lowest hell.

1 Henry VI, I, i, 149:

Ile hale the Dolphin headlong from his Throne.

(10) Finally, note that the end of the scene in its technique of four successive exits each preceded by a speech generally parallel with the others, exactly corresponds with an analogous passage in the *True Tragedy*.

True Tragedy, i, 194-198:

York. My Lord Ile take my leave, for Ile to *Wakefield*
To my castell. *Exit Yorke and his sonnes.*

War[wick]. And Ile keepe *London* with my souldiers. *Exit.*

Nor[folk]. And Ile to Norffolke with my followers. *Exit.*

Mont[ague]. And I to the sea from whence I came. *Exit.*

1 Henry VI, I, i, 165-77:

Bed[ford]. I doe remember it, and here take my leaue,
To goe about my preparation. *Exit Bedford.*

Glost[er]. Ile to the Tower with all the hast I can,
To view th' Artillerie and Munition,
And then I will proclayme young *Henry King.*

Exit Gloster.

Exe[ter]. To Eltam will I, where the young King is,
Being ordain'd his speciall Gouvernor,
And for his safetie there Ile best devise. *Exit.*

Winch[ester]. Each hath his Place and Function to attend:
I am left out, for me nothing remains:
But long I will not be lack out of Office.
The King from Eltam I intend to send,
And sit at chiefest Sterne of publique Weale. *Exit.*⁵⁰

In this brief scene of 137 lines we have ten echoes from Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, *Contention*, *True Tragedy*, *Edward II*, *Jew of Malta*, and *Lucan*⁵¹—five dramatic works and one non-dramatic, the last not intended for oral delivery and not even registered for printing until September 28, 1593. The mind of the man who wrote the scene was permeated with the style, thought, and tricks of phraseology of Marlowe. Its metrics, too, are his: 2.1 per cent. of feminine endings, and 13.2 per cent. of pyrrhic final feet. The metrics forbid attributing the work to Shakespeare, even if it had been Shakespeare's custom to borrow phras-

⁵⁰ The same use of the "operatic quartette" (Barrett Wendell, *Shakespeare*, 78) using parallel structure is to be found in the *True Tragedy*, i, 62-67.

⁵¹ A number of the above parallels have been recognized by Dr. Brooke (Yale ed. *1 Henry VI*, pp. 148-9), together with a few others much less distinctive, in the later parts of the play.

ing, which it was not. And what other dramatist of equal power could have known Marlowe so intimately?

Lines 102-147, which belong to the Talbot material and are very different in metrical characteristics, will be discussed later.

(b) III, i.

Turning next to the first scene of Act III, we may immediately agree with Dr. H. D. Gray⁵² that the first forty lines contain some⁵³ of Shakespeare's rewriting. There are 15 per cent. of feminine endings, 20 per cent. of run-on lines, only 2.5 per cent. of pyrrhic feet, clear Shakespearean vocabulary, and (enough of itself to make the passage stand out as remarkable in the play) two cases of the sentence's ending in the middle of the line. But this passage excepted, I can find no trace of Shakespeare, metrical or stylistic, in the scene. This is the scene of the culmination of the quarrel between Winchester and Gloucester. It is also the one scene of the group that is immediately founded upon a scene in the Chronicle, that of the formal charges against Winchester officially presented by Gloucester to Parliament, and therefore is presumably a part of the original version if anything in the present play is. At the end of the first forty lines the metrics change markedly into a movement distinctly of the Marlowan variety, showing less than 3 per cent. of feminine endings and over 12 per cent. of pyrrhic fifth feet; and they also show the use of the semi-vowel to form one syllable of the pyrrhic, a phenomenon that is much more common in Marlowe than in Shakespeare.

Me thinkes his Lordship should be humb(e)ler⁵⁴

Oh my good Lords, and vertuous Hen(e)ry⁵⁵

They also show Marlowe's use of successive or nearly successive lines deliberately paralleled:

Me thinkes my Lord should be religious . . .

Me thinkes his Lordship should be humbler.⁵⁶

⁵² *Op. cit.*, p. 375.

⁵³ But some of Marlowe's lines are probably retained. See *post*, p. 146.

⁵⁴ L. 56.

⁵⁵ L. 77.

⁵⁶ Ll. 56, 58.

Glou[cester]. So helpe me God, as I dissemble not.
Win[chester]. [*aside*] So helpe me God, as I intend it not.⁵⁷

The latter half of the scene, lines 149-201, closely links the York-Somerset plot with that of Winchester-Gloucester. It is certainly by the same author, not only because of the uniformity of the two in execution, but because, like Holinshed, it represents the restoration of York as the immediate result of the joy of the King (in Holinshed aged five!) over the reconciliation of Gloucester and Winchester. One hand was evidently continuously dramatizing the continuous paragraph in the Chronicle. The two conflicts are closely linked in lines 61-64, where York is given a dramatically natural "aside" in the midst of the Winchester-Gloucester debate. Metrically, the second half of the scene is even further removed than the first half from the typical Shakespearean model, there being no feminine endings and over 20 per cent. of pyrrhic fifth feet in the fifty-four lines; and the deliberately paralleled speeches again occur:

That *Richard* be restored to his Blood.
 Let *Richard* be restored to his Blood.⁵⁸

All. Welcome high Prince, the mighty Duke of *Yorke*.
Som[er]set. [*aside*.] Perish base Prince, ignoble Duke of
Yorke.⁵⁹

The second of these pairs is also a deliberate duplication of the effect of the paralleling of the speech of Gloucester and the "aside" of Winchester forty lines above, as quoted earlier in this paragraph. The conclusion of the scene, the soliloquy of Exeter, we shall return to later.

(c) V, i.

The last Gloucester-Winchester scene in the play, V, i, is related to the scene just discussed both by the interwoven reference of Winchester to the still rankling reminder of his illegitimacy given him at III, i, 41, and, in true Marlowan style, by parallel phraseology.

⁵⁷ Ll. 140-1.

⁵⁸ Ll. 159-60.

⁵⁹ Ll. 179-80.

Glost[er]. As good?
 Thou Bastard of my Grandfather . . .
Som[erzet]. I, see the Bishop be not ouer-borne.⁶⁰

Win[chester]. . . .
Humfrey of Gloster, thou shalt well perceiue,
 That neither in birth, or for authoritie
 The Bishop will be ouer-borne by thee.⁶¹

It is especially significant that here his former title of "Bishop" is echoed from III, i, 53, by Cardinal Winchester. In this respect, it may be noted, there is a curious discrepancy in the various scenes of the play. In I, i, in III, i, and on the important event of the coronation in IV, i, he is a Bishop; and in V, i, supposedly a number of years later, he has just been made a Cardinal and is in the act of sending money to the Pope in payment for the office. In I, iii, however, he is represented as already a Cardinal. As a matter of history, at the time of the charges brought against Winchester by Gloucester in 1426 as pictured in III, i, he was still merely a Bishop; and it would seem probable that the author of these sections began his writing with the central scene of the Gloucester-Winchester controversy (the only one in the play for which there is detailed foundation in the *Chronicle*) and that with regard to the rank of Winchester he simply followed the historical fact. Next, working upon the slighter historical basis in the *Chronicle*, he wrote V, i, the scene of the preliminary negotiations for peace and for the marriage of Henry to the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac, and in this connection, as Winchester had been made Cardinal in the interim, the author took opportunity to represent him and the Pope as guilty of the crime of simony—an attitude quite in harmony with the many other anti-Catholic passages in Marlowe's plays.⁶² Later, however, during the writing of I, iii, the plan was changed, possibly under the influence of B., in order to gain the dramatic advantage in the dialogue and staging of making Winchester already a Cardinal. Finally, in the hurry of executing the order for the play on time, as has already been suggested, the scenes were sent off unhar-

⁶⁰ III, i, 41-42, 53. ⁶¹ V, i, 58-60.

⁶² Cf., e. g., *Faustus*, 863-904; *Jew of Malta*, 840-49, 1457-1715; *Conjuration*, i, 93-129, xi, 1-20; and the *Massacre at Paris* throughout,

monized. Whether or not this be the correct explanation in full detail, it is very probable that III, i, representing the *Chronicle* basis, and the scene V, i, consistent with it, belong to that stratum of the play earliest written. Like the other A. scenes already discussed, V, i, is non-Shakespearean in metrics, with but 9.6 per cent. of feminine endings in its 62 lines,⁶³ and with 20.9 per cent. of pyrrhic fifth feet. Scenes III, i, and V, i, also seem linked to the first soliloquy of York in the *Contention* by echo of idea and somewhat of phraseology:

Then *Yorke* be still awhile till time do serue,
Till . . .
. . . *Humphrey* with the Peeres be falne at iarres. . . .
And force perforce ile make him [Henry] yeeld the Crowne,
Whose bookish rule hath puld faire England dovvne.⁶⁴

King. . . .
Oh, what a Scandall is it to our Crowne,
That two such Noble Peeres as you [Humphrey of Gloucester
and Winchester] should iarre?⁶⁵

King. Marriage Vnckle? Alas my yeares are yong:
And fitter is my studie, and my Bookes,
Than wanton dalliance with a Paramour.⁶⁶

One other tie, and that a notable one, links V, i, with III, i. Exeter, the "speciall Gouvernor" of the King,⁶⁷ whose speeches in Act I are strongly Marlowan in style, contain two unmistakable Marlowan parallels, and prepare for the magic of Joan of Arc in Act V, has throughout the rest of the play a very special function. Note the following series of soliloquies:

Exet[er]. I, we may march in England, or in France,
Not seeing what is likely to ensue:
This late dissention growne betwixt the Peeres,
Burnes vnder fained ashes of forg'd loue,

⁶³ It should be noted that in this short scene of only 62 lines, 4 of the feminine endings occur in lines 41-47. The percentage for the remainder of the lines is 3.5.

⁶⁴ *Contention*, i, 245, 250, 255-6.

⁶⁵ *1 Henry VI*, III, i 69-70.

⁶⁶ *1 Henry VI*, V, i, 21-23.

⁶⁷ *I*, i, 171.

And will at last breake out into a flame,
 As festred members rot but by degrees,
 Till bones and flesh and sinewes fall away,
 So will this base and enuious discord breed.
 And now I feare that fatall Prophecie,
 Which in the time of *Henry*, nam'd the Fift,
 Was in the mouth of euery sucking Babe,
 That *Henry* borne at Monmouth should winne all,
 And *Henry* borne at Windsor, loose all:
 Which is so plaine, that *Exeter* doth wish,
 His dayes may finish, ere that haplesse time.⁶⁸

Exet[er]. Well didst thou *Richard* to suppress thy voice:
 For had the passions of thy heart burst out,
 I feare we should haue seene decipher'd there
 More rancorous spight, more furious raging broyles,
 Then yet can be imagin'd or suppos'd:
 But howsoere, no simple man that sees
 This iarring discord of Nobilitie,
 This shouldering of each other in the Court,
 This factious bandying of their fauorites,
 But that it doth presage some ill euent.
 'Tis much, when Scepters are in Childrens hands:
 But more when Enuy breeds vnkinde deuision.
 There comes the ruine, there begins confucion.⁶⁹

Exet[er]. What, is my Lord of *Winchester* install'd,
 And call'd vnto a Cardinalls degree?
 Then I perceiue, that will be verified
Henry the Fift did sometime prophesie.
 If once he come to be a Cardinall,
 Hee'l make his cap coequall with the Crowne.⁷⁰

The first and second of these soliloquies, closing III, i, and IV, i, respectively, Dr. Tucker Brooke, if I understand him rightly, would give to Shakespeare as part of a dexterous *volte-face* by which Shakespeare, revising, transformed the "very dramatic note of national vindication" with which "the old play may be supposed to have concluded" to a note of "pessimism and foreboding" to fit the play into its place in the tetralogy of 1, 2, 3 *Henry VI*—*Richard III*. I regret that I must wholly dissent

⁶⁸ III, i, 187-201.

⁶⁹ IV, i, 182-194.

⁷⁰ V, i, 28-33.

from this suggestion, and that for several reasons. First, it is quite unnecessary. As has already been pointed out, the peace concluded in V, iv, does *not* end in national vindication. For the English it is merely making the best of a bad situation, by a compromise peace prepared by the death of Talbot (known by the testimony of Nashe to have been a part of the play of *harey the vj*). By this peace, after England's loss of

most part of all the Townes,
By Treason, Falshood, and by Treacherie,⁷¹

Charles, who is already possessed

With more then halfe the Gallian Territories,⁷²

is at last unwillingly given the title of King previously denied him by the English, on condition that he shall become "True Liegeman" to the English crown; and at the moment of the conclusion of the peace it is lamented by York.⁷³ There is no evidence whatever, stylistic or otherwise, that this scene depicting the conclusion of the peace has been in any way altered from its original form; and Dr. Brooke's supposition is therefore baseless. Second, the nature of the peace is fully forecast in the First Messenger's speech of I, i, 70-82, which has already been shown to be a part of the work of A. Third, the origin of the national disaster in national dissensions is also fully in harmony with the non-Shakespearean speech of Winchester at V, i, 61-62:

He either make thee [Gloucester] stoope, and bend thy knee,
Or sacke this Country with a mutiny.

Fourth, in the *Contention* Marlowe had already attributed the loss of France to English un wisdom, in the passage in Scene i terminating with Gloucester's

say when I am gone,
I prophesied *France* would be lost ere long;⁷⁴

and at ix, 43-45, and xviii, 22-27, he had placed in the mouths of York, George, and Cade speeches implying the loss of France

⁷¹ *1 Henry VI*, V, iv, 108-10.

⁷² *1 Henry VI*, V, iv, 139.

⁷³ V, iv, 11-21.

⁷⁴ *LL*. 91-92.

through English treachery. The basis of the situation therefore exists, although less emphatically, in the earlier play. Fifth, the three speeches of Exeter, cited at length above, are strikingly parallel. They are all soliloquies; they all make Exeter function as Chorus; they all prognosticate ill for the kingdom; the first and third quote old prophecy; and they are all so similar in metre (which is clearly not Shakespeare's), in style, and in tone as to stamp them as unmistakably the mintage of the same brain using the same technique to accomplish the same purpose. But the third in the series, like the others, is totally devoid of any metrical or stylistic indication of Shakespeare's hand; no one has ever suggested that it was an interpolation by him; and it is inextricably involved in the reference to Winchester's being elevated from the office of Bishop to that of Cardinal, which, as has been shown above,⁷⁵ can scarcely be doubted to be a part of the earliest stratum of the play. And if the third is of the original material of the drama, it is likewise unquestionable that the other two are part of the same initial conception. This conclusion, it will later be shown, has further consequences.

On the whole, then, it would seem indisputable that V, i, is by the same hand as III, i, 41-201; that while stylistically they are not so distinctively Marlowe's as is I, i, yet they do contain some marks of his hand; that stylistically they are emphatically not Shakespeare's; and that in subject-matter they are clearly of the earliest stratum of the play.

(d) III, iv*b*, and IV, i*b*.

The scene of the restoration of York to his "Blood" (III, i*b*) has been for six reasons referred above to Marlowe's authorship. The following two scenes of the York-Somerset thread (III, iv*b*, and IV, i*b*), Fleay gives to B., not because of the evidence of the spelling test (for they contain none of the test words), but merely because B. is the author of the earlier half of each of the two scenes, which deal respectively with the knighting of Talbot (III, iv*a*) and with Talbot's public denunciation of Fastolfe (IV, i*a*). But these two Talbot scenes of B. bear marks of having originally

⁷⁵ Pp. 94-95.

stood in a closer relation to each other. After preparation by the announcement that Henry is about to "crosse the Seas and to be Crown'd in France" (III, i, 79-83) and Talbot's declaration that he is going to meet the King in Paris (III, ii, 128), the King in a full court scene creates Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury (III, iv*a*) and then directs that he shall "in our Coronation take your place." In IV, i*a*, (immediately following save for the eighteen lines of III, iv*b*) in the presence of exactly the same members of the *dramatis personae* plus the mute Governor of Paris, the King is crowned, the opening line being Gloucester's

Lord Bishop, set the Crowne vpon his head.

The brief coronation ceremony completed, Fastolfe enters and Talbot publicly tears the Garter from the coward's knee. The knighting and the coronation scenes of B. (III, iv*a* and IV, i*a*) were apparently at first continuous, and when, late in the composition of the original play, the A. and B. groups came to be adjusted to each other, the two sections were cut apart to permit of the insertion of the quarrel of Vernon and Basset (III, iv*b*) from the York-Somerset scenes of A., which was needed to prepare for the continuation of the same quarrel at IV, i*b*, and its expansion into the resumption of the struggle between York and Somerset in behalf of their respective followers. There is therefore not only no reason why Fleay's assignment of the quarrel scenes (III, iv*b*, and IV, i*b*) to B. should stand—there is even evidence in the natural original relation of III, iv*a*, and IV, i*a*, that the scene separating them (III, iv*b*) is by another author.

The first and briefer of these quarrel scenes (III, iv*b*) contains nothing distinctive in style; its metrics are Marlowan, with no feminine endings and 11 per cent. of pyrrhic fifth feet; its reference to the "colours" of York is the most general possible, quite lacking the distinctiveness of all the other references in the play to the white rose; one of its two characters, Basset, must have originally appeared in IV, i*b*, but does not appear in the Garden scene or elsewhere in the play, and certain considerations,⁷⁶ would lead us to believe that the division of III, iv*a*, from

⁷⁶ These considerations can best be relegated to a note. The Folio IV, i (see *infra*, pp. 158*f.*) is highly heterogeneous, consisting of the

IV, *ia*, by the interposition of III, *ivb*, had already occurred in the original version of the play.

As to IV, *ib*, the second and principal of these two Vernon-Basset quarrel scenes, there are two clear indications that it originally belonged to the A. group: it contains one of Marlowe's favorite phrases,

War[wick]. My Lord of Yorke, I promise you the King
Prettily (me thought) did *play the Orator*;⁷⁷

and its action is in part described in Exeter's second soliloquy quoted above⁷⁸ beginning,

Well didst thou *Richard* to suppress thy voice: *etc.*

This second soliloquy has been shown to lack all marks of Shakespeare's handiwork and to be a part of the original play. These two passages, both occurring in the last twenty-one lines of the scene, enable us to say with considerable certainty that the preceding action of the scene was originally the same as at present, namely, an attempted reconciliation of York and Somerset by the

present IV, *ia* (concluding III, *iva*) by B.; IV, *ib*; and the present IV, ii-vii, originally by D. It is highly improbable that Shakespeare was responsible for the transference of the legend "Act IV" from before the D. series to before the final section of III, iv, so cut off from III, iv, and attached to the D. series, inasmuch as no other Shakespearean interpolation in the play in any way interferes with the original act or scene number, and further, because it grows increasingly probable that any division into acts or scenes meant little to Shakespeare, as a practical playwright primarily interested, not in the mere literary convention, but in the acting and managerial technique of the Elizabethan stage. Therefore Act IV probably began in *harey the vj* with IV, *ia*, as now. IV, *ia*, had therefore probably been separated from III, *iva*, by the insertion of III, *ivb*, already in *harey the vj*, before Shakespeare's connection with the play, and is due to one who was rather man of letters than actor.

⁷⁷ Cf. the following cases cited by Brooke, *Authorship of the Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI*, p. 166:

Or looke you, I should playe the Orator (*Tamburlaine*, 325)
Our Swords shall playe the Orators for us (*ib.*, 328)
To trye how quaint an Orator you were (*Contention*, x, 127)
Nay, I can better plaie the Orator (*True Tragedy*, ii, 2)
Full wel hath Clifford plaid the Orator (*ib.*, vi, 42)

⁷⁸ Page 96.

King, and York's suppression of his dissatisfaction. Nevertheless, there are reasons for agreeing with Dr. H. D. Gray⁷⁹ that the earlier part of IV, *ib*, has been worked over by Shakespeare. The references to the interpolated scene in the Rose Garden (II, iv) are quite explicit, and the treatment of the rose hues in the two scenes is in the same vein. Occasionally the phraseology is unmistakably Shakespearean, especially in lines 102-3,

For though he seeme with forged quaint conceite
To set a glosse vpon his bold intent.

More important still, the speech of forty lines given to the young King, by far the longest he has in the play, is gently dignified, sweet of temper, and fairly mature. He is not the little King of "sighs and teares" of III, i, 108.⁸⁰ The percentage of feminine endings in the scene as a whole, 9.3, confirms the theory of partial rewriting, being low for Shakespeare but double the general average for Marlowe; and its percentage of pyrrhic fifth feet, 7.3, also lies between the two. On the whole, it seems clear that III, *ivb*, and IV, *ib*, were both in the original play, and that they were by the same author, Marlowe, as the preceding York scenes, but that the latter of the two scenes was in part rewritten by Shakespeare,—partly as the continuation of the creative impulse that had produced the Garden scene; partly, perhaps, as Dr. Gray suggests, to strengthen (lines 145-48) Shakespeare's emphasis in the play on the conception of the loss of France through internal dissension; and largely, I suspect, to increase the maturity of the boy-King, and thus lessen the falsity of the scene, V, v, which had been added to connect the play with *Part 2*.⁸¹

(e) II, iv and II, v.

The reasons for considering the Temple Garden scene (II, iv) to be by Shakespeare have already been stated.⁸²

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*, 372.

⁸⁰ This would be in harmony with Shakespeare's very marked revision of the rôle of Henry in *Part II*.

⁸¹ See pp. 32-35.

⁸² See page 33, *n.* 39.

The scene depicting the death of Mortimer in the arms of York (II, v) is given by Fleay to Marlowe, in spite of the fact that none of the spelling-test words is present.

The question at first sight is not easy to decide. It seems impossible that such lines as the oft-quoted

And these gray Locks, the Pursuiuants of death⁸³
and

Iust Death, kinde Vmpire of mens miseries,
With sweet enlargement doth dismissee me hence,⁸⁴

should not be Shakespeare's. Further, it seems significant of Shakespeare's authorship that, while the balanced line of modifier and noun opposed to modifier and noun is not infrequent through the play, it is not frequent with Marlowe in general after *2 Tamburlaine*,⁸⁵ nor in the A. passages in this play, and in this scene it is employed with a frequency and subtlety that are marked. In the 374 lines I take to be unquestionably Marlowe's that are left elsewhere in *1 Henry VI*, there occur only four clear cases:

His sparkling Eyes, repleat with wrathfull fire⁸⁶
Oh my good Lords, and vertuous Henry⁸⁷
Burnes vnder fained ashes of forg'd loue.⁸⁸
The enuious barking of your sawcie Tongue.

With these compare the three found in this single scene of 129 lines:

And pyth-lesse Armes, like to a withered Vine⁸⁹
And now declare sweet Stem from *Yorke's* great Stock⁹⁰
when they are cloy'd
With long continuance in a setled place;⁹¹

⁸³ II, v, 5.

⁸⁴ II, v, 29-30.

⁸⁵ See F. G. Hubbard in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII, 74.

⁸⁶ I, i, 12.

⁸⁷ III, i, 77.

⁸⁸ III, i, 190. The following line reference is III, iv, 33.

⁸⁹ II, v, 11.

⁹⁰ II, v, 41.

⁹¹ II, v, 106.

together with the two somewhat analogous cases,

I, Noble Uncle, thus ignobly vs'd

And in that case, Ile tell thee my Disease.⁹²

And if the prose statement of literal facts in the *Contention*, vi, 6-41, concerning the genealogy of York be compared with its metered, corrected, and more poetic revision in *2 Henry VI*, II, ii, 12-52, and both with the version given in lines 61-97 of the scene of *1 Henry VI* now under consideration, the last named passage will be found, in both dramatic and poetic values, to be far the superior of the others.

Yet on the other hand, there must originally have been a York scene preceding III, i, the central scene in which he is restored to his "Blood," and it must have contained some exposition of York's genealogy and family history, for otherwise his situation and his claim to his title in that central scene would have been quite unprepared and therefore obscure to the early audiences who saw the play in its first form. Lines 45-50 of II, v, contain a reference to a quarrel between York and Somerset arising from an "argument upon a case," a reference that is not a mere echo of the Rose Garden scene but that is necessary here in order to motivate Richard's question concerning his father's fate and thus lead to the accomplishment of the one purpose of the scene. The reference is therefore as old as the scene, and the hint would easily suggest to Shakespeare the basic situation of the Rose Garden scene, while the incidental mention, at II, v, 19, of the Temple as York's place of residence would similarly suggest the background of II, iv. Further, the phrase "to be restored to my blood" (line 128) is echoed twice in Marlowe's following scene, "That Richard be restored to his Blood."⁹³ Commentators note, too, that the Earl of Cambridge, said in line 88 to have levied an army against Henry V in the cause of Mortimer, in a striking scene in *Henry V*⁹⁴ is condemned at Southampton for conspiring to assassinate the King without the levying of an army; and it would therefore seem impossible that Shakespeare should

⁹² II, v, 35; II, v, 44.

⁹³ III, i, 158-159.

⁹⁴ II, ii, 60-181.

have written the scene, at least as late as the known date of *Henry V* and the probable date of the Rose Garden scene with its wealth of feminine endings. The metrical peculiarities of the Mortimer death scene incline heavily on the side of Marlowe. The percentage of pyrrhic final feet (9.2 per cent.), is more than double that for *Errors* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and between those of Marlowe's *Contention* and his *True Tragedy*. There is also an unusual number of rhymed lines⁹⁵ scattered through the scene. Shakespeare's scenes in the play show six rhyme pairs original with him,⁹⁶ but all Shakespeare's couplets are used organically to climax a speech or scene or give an analogous effect. In the Mortimer scene, however, all the rhyme effects except the last are casual, inorganic, like some others in the Marlowe scenes,⁹⁷ in which use of the inorganic rhyme the Marlowe scenes seem practically alone among those clearly assignable to authors in the play.⁹⁸ Highly significant, too, is the use in the scene of the verbal ending *-ed* abnormally⁹⁹ pronounced as a separate syllable for the sake of the metre. Shakespeare occasionally does this, as is indicated by the 1.2 per cent. of cases in the purely Shakespearean pentameters in *Errors*, I, ii, to IV, v, and by the same percentage in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*; but it is much more frequent in Marlowe. In the passages in *1 Henry VI* already assigned to Shakespeare's writing or rewriting (II, iv; III, i, 1-40; IV, i, 78-181; V, iii, 45-194) there occurs but one case in 296 lines (0.4 per cent.); but in the total passages already assigned to Marlowe in the play (I, i, 1-102, 141-177; III, i, 41-200; IV, i, 182-193; V, i, 1-62) there occur eleven cases in 373 lines (2.9 per cent.) or over seven times as great a frequency. In the scene of the death of Mortimer, however, there are no fewer than eight cases in 129 lines, a percentage of 6.2, twice Marlowe's general average in the play, but fifteen times Shakespeare's. The scene is of even

⁹⁵ Ll. 8-9, 15-16, 76-77, 118-119, 128-129.

⁹⁶ II, iv, 17-18, 126-127, 133-134; IV, ii, 37-38, 55-56; V, iii, 58-59. I omit the cases in Act IV retained from D.

⁹⁷ I, i, 33-34, 143-144; and possibly also III, i, 184-185.

⁹⁸ Though compare the probably accidental effect at III, ii, 116-117.

⁹⁹ I.e., in words in which it usually coalesces with the preceding syllable, as *hal2d* in II, v, 3.

texture in tone and the various stylistic traits are in general evenly distributed.

The dramatic technique of II, v, strongly confirms all this evidence assigning it to Marlowe. Mortimer introduces himself as "dying *Mortimer*" in line 2 and repeats his name in full, *Edward Mortimer*, in line 7. He asks for his "nephew" (line 17) and the Gaoler answers, "*Richard Plantagenet* . . . will come." In line 33 the Gaoler reports, "My Lord, your louing Nephew now is come," and Mortimer exclaims, "*Richard Plantagenet*, my friend, is he come?" upon which Richard himself rejoins,

I, Noble Unckle, thus ignobly vs'd,
Your Nephew, late despised *Richard*, comes.

This technique is unmistakable. Mortimer, carefully named twice, and Richard Plantagenet, named twice in full and twice more as Richard only, with the relationship mentioned four times (lines 17, 32, 35, 36), are both being "introduced" to the audience as new characters. This is unnecessary if II, v, is a part of the interpolation II, iv, for in that scene, Richard is the central character. Further, in the following scene (III, i) Richard's first speech, an aside, takes for granted the information of II, v, and so does the main passage concerning him (lines 149-178) in the same scene; both are incomprehensible to the audience if both II, v, and II, iv, are absent, but not if II, v, alone is present. The dramaturgy thus clearly indicates II, v, as preceding II, iv, in date of composition, and as necessary preparation for III, i, and therefore an essential part of the basic structure of the York plot. Further, with II, iv, the Mortimer scene is dramatically superfluous, as II, iv, the Garden Scene, alone gives sufficient preparation for III, i; and Shakespeare would have no reason for writing the interview between nephew and uncle. But Shakespeare, with II, v, already in, would nevertheless have every reason to add the Garden Scene, II, iv, since the latter substitutes a more modern, direct, and vital revelation of the facts through violent dispute for the antiquated opening monologue and "talky" exposition of the Mortimer scene (especially unnatural in the mouth of a man who dies of weakness at its end); and also because by the use of the Roses *motif* it lays a foundation for the entire tetralogy of 1-2-3 *Henry VI-Richard III*.

In view, therefore, of the dramaturgic necessity for such a scene in the original version; the adequacy of the dramatic technique of V, v, old-fashioned as it is, for the purpose; the lack of any indication that this is a rewriting of an earlier form or that it contains interpolated material; the facts that it is echoed in the succeeding original scene, and that it contains irremovably embedded within itself the kernel for later expansion into II, iv; its historical discrepancy with Shakespeare's work in *Henry V*; and its strongly Marlowan and absolutely un-Shakespearean metrics;—it seems to me impossible to avoid the conclusion that the scene is a part of Marlowe's original contribution to the play, written on a somewhat higher poetic level than the subject matter of *I Henry VI* in general inspired in him.

Other considerations beside those detailed in the preceding examination of individual scenes mark the cited Winchester-Gloucester and York-Somerset scene-groups as primarily by one author, and that author Marlowe. Not only is York, like Winchester, an ambitious, dominant character,¹ giving the title to the *True Tragedy* as Winchester had appeared on the title-page of the *Contention*, but certain elements of scene-technique unite the groups. The two conflicts, as has been pointed out, are interlinked at III, i, 61-64, where York has a dramatically natural "aside" in the midst of the Winchester-Gloucester scene; and the only two cases of the "echo aside" also occur in the two halves of the same scene, being given to Winchester² and Somerset³ respectively. But more striking still, scenes I, i; II, v; III, i; IV, i; and V, i, (as well as the hitherto undiscussed I, iii), all employ an identical ending-technique—the emptying of the stage of all the

¹In fact, Holinshed's characterizations of the two (see Boswell-Stone's *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, pp. 269-70, for Winchester, and *passim* through 218-307 for York) are the only ones in this section of the *Chronicle* that would have strongly gripped Marlowe's peculiar type of imagination. However, in view of Marlowe's love of gruesome endings (cf. *The Jew of Malta* and *Faustus*) and his use of fire in three places in *2 Tamburlaine*, once to cremate a person who has just been speaking, one cannot help wondering if a part of the attraction for him in the material was not the imagined climactic possibilities in the burning of Joan.

²III, i, 140-141.

³III, i, 177-178.

characters but one, who then utters a significant soliloquy.⁴ This technique is employed in the play *1 Henry VI* only in the A. sections.

From the preceding discussion, then, it would appear that I, i, the general introduction to the entire play, is (except for lines 102-140) by Marlowe alone; that II, v, is by Marlowe; that III, i, is by Marlowe, but that lines 1-40 have been revised by Shakespeare; that III, iv, 28-45, was written by Marlowe; that IV, i, 78-194, was by Marlowe, but that lines 78-173 have been partly reworked by Shakespeare; and that V, i, (like III, i, among the very earliest scenes in the play to be written) is also by Marlowe. The Temple Garden scene, II, iv, as has long been recognized, is a Shakespearean interpolation. The lines of Marlowe left unchanged number about 522; Shakespeare's revisions of, and additions to, Marlowe amount to about 270 lines. Act I, scene iii, dealing with the struggle of Gloucester and Winchester before the Tower, will be discussed in connection with B.

It should be said, however, that, except for II, v, these scenes are by no means wholly typical of Marlowe at his best. They lack the poetic *élan* that we usually expect to find in him—he probably viewed the drama in general as a hurried hack order and could not fully rise to it. The play also lacks the characteristic opening soliloquy of *Faustus*, *The Jew of Malta*, and *Edward II*. But the typically Marlowan subject-matter; the obvious relations to the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*; the power of the non-Shakespearean Mortimer death-scene; the characteristic echoes of idea and phrase from Marlowe's other plays; the linkings of the main groups by paragraph-source, dialogue, "echo aside," chorus-soliloquy, and the common ending-technique; the evidences of the metre and of the spelling tests;⁵—all this evidence is so strong that we may with certainty, in my judgment, attribute

⁴ Cf. *1 Tamburlaine*, II, iv; *2 Tamburlaine*, IV, iii; *Jew of Malta*, I, i; II, iii; III, i; IV, i; IV, v; V, iv; *Edward II*, I, i (before the entrance of the King at 73); II, iv; V, iv.

⁵ A.'s typical spelling *Gloster* is also employed in all occurrences of the name in the *True Tragedy* except for three sporadic cases of the form *Glocester* (x, 95; xii, 1; xiv, 1).

these portions of the original play to Marlowe: and this opinion is confirmed by the consideration that Edward Alleyn, in early 1592 the manager of Strange's Men, would have turned for assistance to no author in London with such confidence as to the creator of Alleyn's star parts, Tamburlaine and Barabas, and by the further consideration that Marlowe's contributions to this play fall naturally into place in the general chronology of Marlowe's work and of his relations with Pembroke's and with Strange's Men.

II. THE B. SCENES

(a) B.'s Talbot Scenes

We begin this section of our discussion by considering the scenes, among those Fleay assigns¹ to B., in which Talbot appears in person, namely, those dealing with the siege, relief, and final capture of Orleans (I, iv, v, vi, and II, i, iia), those dealing with the episode of Talbot's visit to the Countess of Auvergne (II, iib, and iii), and those dealing with his elevation to the rank of Earl (III, iva) and with his denunciation of Fastolfe at the coronation of the King (IV, ia).

These form a homogeneous series of 508 lines, with no indication of rewriting or interpolation within any scene. In I, iv, v, vi, and II, i, ii, they contain six cases each of the spellings *Ioane* (differentiating B. from D., who spells the name *Ione*) and *Puzel* (differentiating B. from C. and D., both of whom spell it *Pucell*). In III, iva, and IV, ia, are three cases of *Glo(u)cester*, the one in dialogue being clearly trisyllabic in scansion (differentiating B. from A., who has only dissyllabic *Gloster*, except for one dissyllabic *Glocester* at III, i, 49), and four cases of *Burgundy* (differentiating B. from C., whose form is *Burgonie*).

The source of these scenes is Holinshed, as is indicated by Talbot's statement² that on the occasion of Fastolfe's desertion of Talbot at the Battle of Patay (misnamed *Poictiers* in the text³) the English army "but in all was . . . six thousand strong,"

¹ See *supra*, p. 67.

² IV, i, 19-20.

³ IV, i, 19.

Holinshed's figures, whereas Halle gives the number as *five* thousand.⁴ There is no way here of telling positively whether the edition of Holinshed employed was the first (1577) or the amplified second (1587), but the probabilities would favor the latter. Though he invents freely when necessary, B. usually follows the Chronicle somewhat more closely than A., C., or D., sometimes even borrowing Holinshed's phraseology. He is guilty of the slip at III, iv, 18-20, where Henry says,

When I was young (as yet I am not old)
I doe remember how my Father said,
A stouter Champion neuer handled Sword,

an ignorance not shared by Marlowe, who correctly makes Henry say in the *True Tragedy* (in a line incorporated in *3 Henry VI*, at I, i, 112):

When I was crown'd, I was but nine moneths old.

B.'s verse is quite highly end-stopt, much more so than is the case with A. The general average of pyrrhic endings is 12.7 per cent., with averages in separate scenes ranging from 8 per cent. (in I, iv) to 19 per cent. (in I, vi, a scene of only nineteen lines). The general percentage of feminine endings is 9.1, ranging from 16.6 per cent. (in the very brief I, vi) and 12.0 (in the longer I, iv) to 0.0 (in the 27 lines of III, *iva*). He employs the balanced line of the type, "The fainting army of that foolish king," four times, a percentage of 0.8, in the 508 lines of the scenes in question.⁵ As already noted, he scans *Gloucester* as a trisyllable.⁶

Both in dramatic technique and in characterization, so far as these scenes are evidence, B. is the weakest of the four original authors. In the first scene of the series (I, iv) his opening exposition is somewhat forced and awkward.

M[aster] Gunner. Sirrha, *thou know'st* how Orleance is besieg'd,
And how the English haue the Suburbs wonne.

Boy. Father, *I know*; and oft haue shot at them,
How e're vnfortunate, I miss'd my ayme.

Master Gunner. But now thou shalt not. . . .

⁴ See Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, 207.

⁵ II, ii, 16; II, iii, 21; III, iv, 1, 16.

⁶ III, iv, 3.

The promise thus apparently made, however, is almost immediately contradicted, for the boy is really to "run and bring me word." The main plot interest in the scenes about Orleans (I, iv, to II, iii) after the turret scene, is mere military bustle, with no less than nine alarums, resumed fights, and the like. The episode of the Countess of Auvergne (II, iii) is notable for "dramatic ineptitude," to borrow the phrase by which Professor Baker has well characterized it.⁷ It has brief suspense, no real conflict, and a conclusion that aims at exhibiting Talbot as the pink of chivalrous courtesy, and succeeds only in attaining, from the literary point of view, to pitiful anti-climax. The denunciation of Fastolfe in IV, i, is merely a 28-line indignant recital of the facts of Fastolfe's defection, followed by a "preachy" exposition of what Talbot considers the characteristics of a true Knight of the Garter. There is no reply from Fastolfe, and but a single approving interruption from Gloucester, and the passage concludes with the King's exile of him "who was a knight." Aside from the element of mere physical struggle, at only one place does B. show any real knowledge of how to create suspense, namely, where in I, iv, at the ominous line,

Ready they were to shoot me to the heart,

the boy enters with the linstock to the cannon below the turret, and after a pause of thirteen lines fires the shot that kills two of the four English above.

In the characterization of Talbot, while B. in part depicts the hero in action, yet too much reliance is placed upon Talbot's description of his own heroism, past or intended,⁸ and on lengthy expression of his emotions.⁹

The brief treatment of Joan of Arc in these scenes is more successful. It is generally objective and direct. She is introduced in the Messenger's speech¹⁰ as

A holy Prophetesse, new risen vp.

⁷ *Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*, 166.

⁸ I, iv, 27-56, 97, 105-109; I, v, 1, 10-12; III, iv, 5-9.

⁹ I, iv, 72-86; I, v, 10-12, 19-26.

¹⁰ I, iv, 102.

Except for an apparently contemptuous, possibly somewhat envious, "aside" from the Bastard of Orleans,

Tut, holy *Ioane* was his [Charles'] defensiuē Guard,¹¹

she is treated respectfully by the French; and B. rises into really musical eloquence in her praise in the 31 lines of I, vi:

A statelier Pyramis to her Ile reare,
Than *Rhodophe's* or *Memphis* euer was.
In memorie of her, when she is dead,
Her Ashes in an vrne more precious
Then the rich-iewel'd Coffer of *Darius*,
Transported, shall be at high Festiualls
Before the Kings and Queenes of France.
No longer on Saint *Dennis* will we cry,
But *Ioane de Pucel* shall be France's Saint.

From the English standpoint, however, B. "hedges." On first hearing of her, Talbot puns on her name.

Puzel or Pussel [drab], Dolphin or Dog-fish,
Your hearts Ile stampe out wi[t]h my Horses heeles.¹²

The innuendo in the pun *pussel* is carried over into the following Act:

Burgundy. But what's that Puzell [pussel] whom they
tearme so pure?

Talbot. A Maid, they say.¹³

It later appears again in the sneering reference,

His [the Dauphin's] new-come Champion, vertuous *Ioane* of Acre.¹⁴

Burgundy calls her the Dauphin's "trull"¹⁵ and to Talbot she is "Devil or devil's dam,"¹⁶ a "witch"¹⁷ and "sorceress,"¹⁸ who converses with spirits.¹⁹

Not only does B. in these scenes show no subtlety of characterization, apparently not comprehending conflict of character in distinction from conflict of action, but he also lacks piquancy of phrasing. Except in the closing lines of Act I quoted above, his style is distinctly flat. He is fond of odd phrases, weak in dramatic

¹¹ II, i, 49.

¹⁴ II, ii, 20.

¹⁷ II, v, 6, 21.

¹² I, iv, 107-108.

¹⁵ II, ii, 28.

¹⁸ II, i, 15.

¹³ II, i, 20-21.

¹⁶ I, v, 5.

¹⁹ II, i, 25.

power, such as "every minute while,"²⁰ "to quittance the deceit,"²¹ "I trow,"²² "I muse we met not with the Dauphin's grace,"²³ "I'll sort some other time to visit you,"²⁴ "This is a riddling merchant for the nonce,"²⁵ "He that is not furnished in this sort,"²⁶ (i.e., does not possess the cited virtues of a Knight of the Garter). In five instances, he uses archaic compound conjunctions: "after that,"²⁷ "for that,"²⁸ "before that,"²⁹ "when that,"³⁰ "whether that."³¹ He is especially fond of the double or triple balanced structure, usually pivoting on *and* or *or*, and frequently having the second word or phrase synonymous with the first, as the following list will witness:

A. Single line, double structure.

Whil'st any Trumpe did sound, or Drum struck vp,³²
 So Bees with smoake, and Doues with noysome stench,³³
 That one day bloom'd, and fruitfull were the next,³⁴
 To ioyne with Witches, and the helpe of Hell.³⁵
 Within her Quarter, and mine owne Precinct,³⁶
 The Day begins to breake, and Night is fled,³⁷
 Here sound Retreat, and cease our hot pursuit.³⁸

He will be here, and yet he is not here.³⁹
 Razeth your Cities, and subuerts your Townes,⁴⁰
 Taste of your Wine, and see what Cates you haue⁴¹
 First to my God, and next vnto your Grace.⁴²
 Welcome, braue Captaine, and victorious Lord.⁴³
 Your faithfull seruice and your toyle in Warre:⁴⁴
 Before we met, or that a stroke was giuen⁴⁵

B. Single line, with single word in first half balanced against a combination of words in second half.

In spight of vs, or ought that we could doe⁴⁶

²⁰ I, iv, 54.

²¹ II, i, 14.

²² II, i, 41.

²³ II, ii, 4.

²⁴ II, iii, 27.

²⁵ II, iii, 57.

²⁶ IV, i, 39.

²⁷ II, ii, 32.

²⁸ II, iii, 31.

²⁹ IV, i, 22.

³⁰ IV, i, 21.

³¹ IV, i, 28.

³² I, iv, 80.

³³ I, v, 23.

³⁴ I, vi, 7.

³⁵ II, i, 18.

³⁶ II, i, 68.

³⁷ II, ii, 1.

³⁸ II, ii, 3.

³⁹ II, iii, 58.

⁴⁰ II, iii, 65.

⁴¹ II, iii, 79.

⁴² III, iv, 12.

⁴³ III, iv, 16.

⁴⁴ III, iv, 21.

⁴⁵ IV, i, 22.

⁴⁶ I, v, 37.

Contriu'd by Art and balefull Sorcerie.⁴⁷
 Well, let them practise and conuerse with spirits.⁴⁸
 'Twas time (I trow) to wake and leaue our beds,⁴⁹
 For smoake and duskie vapours of the night,⁵⁰

C. Single line, words balanced in first half.

And feast and banquet in the open streets,⁵¹
 Than *Rhodophe's* or *Memphis* euer was⁵²
 More venturous, or desperate then this⁵³
 Sleeping or waking, must I still preuayle,⁵⁴
 Then how, or which way, should they first breake in?⁵⁵

D. Single line, words balanced in last half.

All France will be repleat with mirth and ioy,⁵⁶
 Hauing all day carows'd and banquetted,⁵⁷
 To gather our Souldiors, scatter'd and disperc't⁵⁸
 It cannot be, this weake and writhled shrimpe⁵⁹

E. Single line, triple balance.

With scoffes and scornes, and contumelious taunts,⁶⁰
 Much more a Knight, a Captaine, and a Leader.⁶¹
 Valiant, and Vertuous, full of haughtie Courage,⁶²

F. Single line, balanced clauses, each with its own internal balance.

Puzel or *Pussel*, Dolphin or Dogfish⁶³

G. Two lines, one balanced against the other.

That they suppos'd I could rend Barres of Steele,
 And spurne in pieces Posts of Adamant,⁶⁴

 Your hearts Ile stampe out with my Horses heeles,
 And make a Quagmire of your mingled braines.⁶⁵

 My brest Ile burst with straining of my courage,
 And from my shoulders crack my Armes asunder,⁶⁶

 Sheepe run not halfe so trecherous from the Wolfe,
 Or Horse or Oxen from the Leopard,⁶⁷

⁴⁷ II, i, 15.

⁴⁸ II, i, 41.

⁵¹ I, vi, 13.

⁴⁹ II, i, 25.

⁵⁰ II, ii, 28.

⁵² I, vi, 22. The *or* is probably a misprint for *of*.

⁵³ II, i, 45.

⁵⁴ II, i, 76.

⁶² I, iv, 107.

⁵⁴ II, i, 56.

⁵⁹ II, iii, 23.

⁶⁴ I, iv, 51-52.

⁵⁵ II, i, 71.

⁶⁰ I, iv, 39.

⁶⁵ I, iv, 108-109.

⁵⁶ I, vi, 15.

⁶¹ IV, i, 32.

⁶⁶ I, v, 10-11.

⁵⁷ II, i, 12.

⁶² IV, i, 35.

⁶⁷ I, v, 30-31.

Bring forth the Body of old *Salisbury*,
And here aduance it in the Market-Place,⁶⁸

Great is the rumour of this dreadfull Knight,
And his atchieuements of no lesse account.⁶⁹

I thought I should haue seene some *Hercules*,
A second *Hector*, for his grim aspect,⁷⁰

For what you see, is but the smallest part,
And least proportion of Humanitie.⁷¹

Why then Lord *Talbot* there shal talk with him,
And giue him chastisement for this abuse.⁷²

Let him perceiue how ill we brooke his Treason,
And what offence it is to flout his Friends.⁷³

Gar[grave]. I thinke at the North Gate, for there stands Lords.
Glan[sdale]. And I heere, at the Bulwarke of the Bridge.⁷⁴

Sal[isbury]. O Lord haue mercy on vs, wretched sinners.
Gar[grave]. O Lord haue mercy on me, wofull man.⁷⁵

Bast[ard]. I thinke this *Talbot* be a Fiend of Hell.
Reig[nier]. If not of Hell, the Heauens sure fauour him.⁷⁶

King. What? doth my Vnckle Burgundy reuolt?
Glou[cester]. He doth my Lord, and is become your foe.
King. Is that the worst this Letter doth containe?
Glou[cester]. It is the worst, and all (my Lord) he writes.⁷⁷

H. Two lines, triple balance ($\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} + 1$).

What stirre is this? what tumult's in the Heauens?
Whence commeth this Alarum and the noyse?⁷⁸

Wasted our Countrey, slaine our Citizens,
And sent our Sonnes and Husbands captiuat.⁷⁹

Not fearing Death, nor shrinking for Distresse,
But alwayes resolute, in most extreames.⁸⁰

Bed[ford]. Agreed; Ile to yond corner.
Bur[gundy]. And I to this.
Tal[bot]. And heere will *Talbot* mount, or make his graue.⁸¹

⁶⁸ II, ii, 4-5.

⁷⁸ IV, i, 74-75.

⁷⁸ I, iv, 98-99.

⁶⁹ II, iii, 7-8.

⁷⁴ I, iv, 66-67.

⁷⁹ II, iii, 41-42.

⁷⁰ II, iii, 19-20.

⁷⁵ I, iv, 70-71.

⁸⁰ IV, i, 37-38.

⁷¹ II, iii, 52-53.

⁷⁶ II, i, 46-47.

⁸¹ II, i, 33-34.

⁷² IV, i, 68-69.

⁷⁷ IV, i, 64-67.

Bast[ard]. Mine was secure.

Reig[nier]. And so was mine, my Lord.

Char[les]. And, for myselfe, most part of all this Night . . .⁸²

We have here 51 cases of double or triple balance involving 72 lines out of the total of 508 lines, one case to every 9 lines, and involving 14.1 per cent. of the entire number of lines in the nine scenes! The tediousness of the style in these scenes is in no small measure due to this constant repetition of the same type of sentence rhythm.

All of the five pens concerned in the play in varying degrees use the inverted order, throwing the predicate noun, participle, or adjective before the verb and sometimes before the combined nominative and verb. Only B., however, is guilty of such strained inversions as:

In open Market-place produc't they me,⁸³

I shall as famous be by this exploit,⁸⁴

and the same stylistic callousness appears in his misplacing of *but* in

When (but in all) I was sixe thousand strong.⁸⁵

Finally, we may note as characteristic of B. his frequent use of the uncommon form of stage direction opening with *here* and *then*. "Here they sho[o]t, and Salisbury falls down";⁸⁶ "Here an Alarum, and it Thunders and Lightens";⁸⁷ "Here Salisbury lifteth himself vp, and groanes";⁸⁸ "Here an Alarum againe, and Talbot pursueth the Dolphin, and driueth him: Then enter Ioane de Puzel, driuing Englishmen before her. Then enter Talbot";⁸⁹ "Here they fight";⁹⁰ "A short Alarum: then enter the Towne with Souldiers";⁹¹ "Alarum. Here another skirmish."⁹² A single analogous case, "Here sound an English march,"⁹³ a direction for music, not for action, is found in a scene by C., followed two lines later by a crisp direction, "French March"; but

⁸² II, i, 66-67.

⁸³ I, iv, 40.

⁸⁴ II, iii, 5.

⁸⁵ IV, i, 20.

⁸⁶ I, iv, 70.

⁸⁷ I, iv, 97.

⁸⁸ I, iv, 104.

⁸⁹ I, v, before 1.

⁹⁰ I, v, 8.

⁹¹ I, v, 15.

⁹² I, v, 33.

⁹³ III, iii, 31.

nothing resembling these nine temporal directions is found anywhere in the play in the pure work of A., or D., or Shakespeare.

(b) First Appearance of Joan of Arc

Also assigned to B. by the spelling tests is I, ii, Joan's first scene, in which she is introduced into the French court. In this the form *Puzel* occurs eleven times and *Ioane* twice. This spelling is very obviously the work of author B., as *Puzel* is an unusual form that could not have originated with the compositor, and the compositor could not have been influenced by B.'s spellings in I, iv, and the following scenes, for he had not yet come to them. The source of I, ii, is again Holinshed, now certainly the second edition (1587), since neither the incident of Joan's identifying the Dauphin nor the story of her finding her sword is found in Halle or in the Holinshed of 1577; while Marlowe seems rather to have employed Halle.⁹⁴ The treatment of Joan is similar to that by B., pure and elevated as to Joan's own language, but eliciting an immediate declaration of love from Charles and sneers from the nobles as to the sexual situation. There are ten per cent. of feminine endings, a figure but one per cent. higher than B.'s general average, but almost three times the percentage of A. B.'s type of stage direction occurs twice: "Here Alarum, they are beaten back by the English, with great losse,"⁹⁵ and "Here they fight, and Ioane de Puzel overcomes."⁹⁶ B.'s love of learned allusions, as already exemplified in his mention of "Astræa's daughter," "Adonis' garden," "Rhodope," and the "rich jewell'd coffer of Darius," further appears in "Mars his true moving,"⁹⁷ "the nine Sibyls,"⁹⁸ "Debora,"⁹⁹ "Caesar" in a reference to a story from

⁹⁴ Halle is the primary source of 2-3 *Henry VI* via the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*, says Dr. Gollancz in Hurst's ed. of Shakespeare, vol. vi, 1 *Henry VI*, p. xii; and the writer of the introduction to our play in the Stratford ed. (edited by W. C. Bryant and A. E. Duyckinck) calls attention to the fact that the phrase, "What should I say?" (I, i, 15) betrays the author's familiarity with Halle, with whom it is a favorite for emphatic statement. The phrase occurs in the A. section.

⁹⁵ After l. 21.

⁹⁶ Before l. 104.

⁹⁷ L. 1.

⁹⁸ L. 56; but in classical sources there is no authority for the nine.

⁹⁹ L. 105.

Plutarch,¹ "Mahomet,"² "Helen, the mother of great Constantine,"³ and "St. Philip's daughters,"⁴ as well as a quotation (in *oratio obliqua*) from Froissart,⁵ associated with mention of "Samsons and Goliasses." Yet, on the other hand, the movement of the passage has almost nothing of the double and triple swing typical of B. in the passages in which Talbot is on the stage, and the quality of the dialogue after the entrance of Joan is of higher quality than B. shows himself capable of elsewhere save in I, vi; there is a real elevation of character in the speeches of Joan that is superior to B.'s characterization in other scenes; and there are six rhymed couplets, two of them consecutive, which are not otherwise found in the work of B. Nor can it be alleged that the difference between this scene, clearly assigned by the spelling tests to B., and the others similarly assigned, is due to interpolation by Shakespeare. One brief passage, lines 133-137, ("Glory is like a Circle in the Water," *etc.*) was probably so interpolated⁶ for it is like Shakespeare in thought and tone, is a simile easily separable from its context and purely ornamental, and contains two feminine endings within its five lines (40 per cent.!). But no other lines in the scene bear Shakespeare's stamp; the 10 per cent. of lines with feminine endings is too low for him writing over the work of B., whose percentage is already 9.1; and the percentage for median abnormal *-éd* (5.3), high for either A. or B., is far too high for Shakespeare, whose percentage is 0.6 in this play and 1.2 both in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and in the *Errors*. On the whole, the scene I, ii, assignable to B. both by the logic of the plot relations and by the evidence of the spelling tests, is also assignable to him by the weight of evidence as to stylistic traits; and the differences are probably to be accounted for on the ground of B.'s greater interest in the dramatic material that he was there dealing with.

¹ L. 139.

² L. 140.

³ L. 141.

⁴ L. 142.

⁵ L. 29.

⁶ See First Folio ed., *n.* to I, ii, 133-137.

(c) B. Scenes of Mixed Authorship

Turning from this examination of the practically unmixed work of B., we must next examine two passages in which his work appears in connection with that of Marlowe. First, the opening scene of the play, as has been said, from the fact that it mentions as past occurrences a number of events that are still to be presented in the drama, appears to have been written by Marlowe as a general introduction and possibly last among his undoubted scenes. In it the speeches of the Third Messenger (lines 108-147) deal particularly with Talbot, and it is therefore not surprising to find them bear clear marks of being the work of B. They give for the fourth time the story of the defection of Fastolfe (which is referred to at I, i, 35-37; represented at III, ii, 104-109; and recited at length at IV, i, 13-29); and they repeat Holinshed's figures of six thousand as the size of the English army.⁷ Incidentally the passage contradicts A.'s obvious meaning in lines 60-68 that Orleans had just revolted, for it dates Talbot's capture to the preceding August when he was retiring from the siege of that already hostile city. The passage contains 13.3 per cent. of feminine endings, which is half as much again as B.'s average, though within his range of variation, but four times as great as A.'s average. Despite the necessarily short-gaited movement of a Messenger's speech, B.'s characteristic balance occurs in a number of lines:

Was round incompasséd, and set vpon:⁸

Hundreds he sent to Hell, and none durst stand him:⁹

Here, there, and euerywhere enrag'd he flew¹⁰

A *Talbot*, a *Talbot* cry'd out amaine,

And rusht into the Bowels of the Battaile.¹¹

With purpose to relieue and follow them,¹²

⁷ In the account of Talbot's capture (ll. 137-140), too, B. borrows details and phraseology from the chroniclers' description of Talbot's death (Boswell-Stone, 231, and Yale ed. of play, 130-132), although, as Holinshed here follows Halle, this supplies no evidence as to source.

⁸ L. 114.

⁹ L. 123.

¹⁰ L. 124.

¹¹ Ll. 128-129.

¹² L. 133.

Hence grew the generall wrack and massacre.¹³

O no, he liues, but is tooke Prisoner,
And Lord *Scales* with him, and Lord *Hungerford*.¹⁴

We also have B.'s occasional stylistic callousness in

To keepe the Horsemen off, from breaking in.¹⁵

But the chief evidence is in the flatness of the whole, and especially of the opening. The First and Second Messengers are rapid and direct, but the third begins with a "talky" reference to the funeral (as if Marlowe had told the writer in what kind of scene it was to be inserted and the latter was trying to make connections):

Mes[senger]. My gracious Lords, to adde to your laments,
Wherewith you now bedew King *Henries* hearse,
I must informe you of a dismall fight,
Betwixt the stout Lord *Talbot*, and the French.

Win[chester]. What? wherein *Talbot* ouercame, is't so?

3. *Mes[senger]*. O no: wherein Lord *Talbot* was o'rethrown:
The circumstance Ile tell you more at large.

Marlowe was never guilty of the prosaic empty slowness of that concluding line.

The other of these scenes of mixed authorship, I, iii, is, all things considered, the most puzzling scene in the play. The content, the chief quarrel in *Part 1* between Gloucester and Winchester, belongs logically to the A. group; and the ten cases of the spelling *Gloster* and fourteen of the abbreviation *Glost.* confirm the ascription to A. But in three, if not four,¹⁶ of the seven cases of *Gloster* in dialogue, despite the spelling the metre demands a trisyllabic pronunciation of the name, to which there is no parallel in the work of A., although it occurs in B. at III, iv, 13. The scene contains 12.1 per cent. of feminine endings, which is reasonably close to B.'s percentage of 9.0, and well within his range of variation, but far above A.'s percentage of 3.7. The other metrical characteristics are indeterminate as to authorship. B.'s

¹³ L. 135.

¹⁴ Ll. 145-146.

¹⁵ L. 119.

¹⁶ Ll. 4, 6, 62, and possibly 73.

typical stage direction introduced by *here* occurs twice.¹⁷ Contrary to history, Winchester is made already a cardinal, and this is at variance with A.'s later scene, V, i, in which the prelate has just purchased that distinction. Yet the spirit of the dispute, as well as some of the material, is identical with that of those between Winchester and Gloucester in Marlowe's *Contention*, except that, as already noted, the quarrel is in a more advanced stage; and there are successive pairs of couplets in lines 43-46 and 52-55 and a single couplet to end the scene, in which respect the work is more like that of A. than of B. There is no other section of the play in which the evidence indicates that two of the original authors worked together throughout a scene, but here the only possible explanation appears to be that A. and B. collaborated closely on the passage, and that A. made the final copy but refrained, either through courtesy or through haste, from harmonizing the discrepancies in pronunciation and as to Winchester's cardinalship.

In endeavoring to fix the probable identities of B. and C. (D., I believe, is comparatively easy of identification), since there is no external evidence on the subject we are compelled to rely (1) on the internal evidence of workmanship and (2) on the limitations in the probabilities as based upon our knowledge of the comparative talents and the personal relations of the dramatists of the day. At the time there were undoubtedly writing for the theatre men whose very names have vanished, as witness many of the plays entered in the early records in Henslowe's *Diary*. The complexity of authorship of *I Henry VI*, however, would appear really to simplify our search. We are looking, not for an individual writer, but for a group of four of whom Marlowe was one, men of education and classical reading as well as of considerable experience in meeting the demands of the stage, and on such terms that they would naturally turn to each other for assistance. The only group that offers such possibilities, we may say with confidence, is that composed of Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Lodge, and Nashe. Lyly, some four years older than the oldest of the circle, had achieved his reputation much earlier than they, and was preëminently the

¹⁷ Ll. 56, 69.

writer of plays for the Court and the children's companies. Of him there is certainly no trace in *1 Henry VI*. Kyd, of the same age as the two older members of the group, Lodge and Greene, apparently gave up play-writing about 1590,¹⁸ and according to his letter to Sir John Pickering of after June 1, 1593, (written, it must be admitted, under conditions not conducive to frankness) had but very slight acquaintance with Marlowe. I can find nothing in the play suggestive of Kyd. Moreover, from the group of Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Lodge, and Nashe the name of Lodge must be eliminated if the date of the play is, as all the evidence indicates, early 1592; for Lodge left England with Cavendish on the latter's ill-fated expedition to South America on August 26, 1591, and did not return until June 11, 1593.¹⁹ If Marlowe, the natural leader of the group, is to be identified with A. by the evidence of natural bent, previous writings, thought, style, versification, acknowledged professional leadership, and previous relations with Alleyn, the natural candidates for the other three identifications are therefore Greene, Peele, and Nashe.

Fleay, as we have seen, believes B. may have been Greene, and Dr. Gray also believes²⁰ that the episode of the Countess of Auvergne (II, iii) "has his [Greene's] characteristic 'smartiness' in the turning of the tables." It has already been pointed out²¹ that Greene would have been impossible before about the end of 1590. By 1592, however, Greene had already written *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and possibly also *James IV*, and had the necessary stagecraft and ease of versification. Yet, on the other hand, there are certain reasons for questioning the identification of B. with Greene: (1) we have no knowledge of Greene's collaborating with anyone but Lodge and possibly Nashe;²² (2) in *A Groat'sworth of Wit*, as Mr. Collins has pointed out,²³ Greene, in his

¹⁸ See Boas' ed. of Kyd, pp. xxiv-xxv, lxii, cviii; though cf. the present writer's outcoming study of the *Comedy of Errors*, section vi.

¹⁹ See *Dictionary of National Biography*, XII, 61-62; Chambers' *Elizabethan Stage*, III, 409.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, 382.

²¹ Pp. 18-19.

²² The latter if, as is probable, he was the "Juvenal" addressed by Greene in *A Groat'sworth of Wit*.

²³ *Op. cit.*, I, 68.

words to Marlowe, says nothing of ever having been associated with Marlowe in dramatic work, although pointedly recalling a similar relation with Nashe (or Lodge); (3) Greene is not known ever to have written for any company but the Queen's; and (4) while there are certain stylistic resemblances between the work of B. and of Greene, there are also certain marked differences. The first and second of these difficulties are by no means conclusive, and as to the third, the star of the Queen's Company was markedly declining before that of Strange's Men, and Greene might well have welcomed being called in on a rush order given by Alleyn to Marlowe. The fourth consideration, however, is crucial. To note first the points of agreement between the work of B. and that of Greene: The treatment of history by B. is about what might be expected of the author of Greene's pseudo-historical plays if somewhat restrained by collaboration with one used to treating his English sources with some seriousness; and Greene's stage technique is about on a level with that of B. except where he has some special inspiration in romantic atmosphere or essentially feminine interest, neither of which appear in B.'s section of *1 Henry VI* except in the first appearance of Joan of Arc at the French court, where B. likewise rises distinctly above his general level. B.'s rise into a higher poetic atmosphere in I, vi, to end the act, is also very much like Greene's occasional upward vault,²⁴ and requires something of Greene's power; and the resemblance between Greene and B. in the use of classic allusion is striking. B.'s peculiar sing-song balance with its pivoting of passages on *and, or*, and the like, appears strongly at times in Greene,²⁵ though at other

²⁴ Cf. *Friar Bacon*, viii, 52-62.

²⁵ I find in *James IV*, I, i, an aggregate of twenty-six such passages (one for every 10.5 metrical lines). Of these, lines 7, 18, 19, 24, 38, 90, 166, 187, 188, 239, and 267 (and cf. also 245) belong to type A. of the classification given above on pages 112f; lines 16, 21, 44, 217, to type B; line 85 to type C; lines 6, 92, 161, 220, to type D; lines 12, 222, 266, to type E; and lines 251-2 and 272-3 to type G. This represents with fair accuracy the situation in the play as a whole. Such cases, it should be noted, seem of comparatively rare occurrence in Greene's rhymed verse, the necessity for locating the rhyme-words seeming to interfere with the tendency toward balance.

times in the same play it will be entirely absent (as also in B.'s *1 Henry VI*, I, ii); the balanced line of the type, "The fainting army of that foolish king," the percentage of which is 0.5 in the total 703 lines assignable to B., occurs with a percentage of 0.5 in *James IV* and 0.4 in *Friar Bacon*; and B.'s use of the odd phrase and of various then obsolescent compound conjunctions are among Greene's most distinctive traits.²⁶ B.'s peculiar introduction of quotation in

Froysard, a Countreyman of ours, records, . . .²⁷

is somewhat paralleled by Greene's

I know full oft you have in authors read

The higher tree the sooner is his fall,²⁸

Brother, beware: I oft haue heard it told,

That sonnes who do their fathers scorne, shall beg when
they be old.²⁹

and there might perhaps also be quoted

Yet I haue heard it in a prouerbe said,

He that is olde and marries with a lasse

Lies but at home, and prooves himselfe an asse.³⁰

All these points argue strongly that B. was Greene. Yet on the other hand, B.'s percentage of feminine endings in the passages where there is no trace of interpolation is 9.1, and ranges in individual scenes up to 12.0 and even to 16.0, while those of Greene in the freest of his undoubted plays, and those probably closest to *1 Henry VI* in date, are only 3.5 (for *Friar Bacon*) and 3.2 (for

²⁶ For instance, in *Friar Bacon*, immediately after which *1 Henry VI* should probably fall in date, I find the following compound connectives: *as if that* (three cases); *how that* (three cases); *for why* (two cases); *if that* (two cases); *before that* (two cases); *after that* (two cases); *but that* (in a non-modern sense); and *for that*. There are also *for* in the sense of *because* to introduce a subordinate clause preceding a main clause (three cases); *as* in the sense of *that* (two cases); and such archaisms as *sith* for *since*, *holpe* for *help*, and *hundreth* for *hundred*. There are also such stylistic eccentricities as *to give entertaine* (l. 1270), *myself affectionats* (l. 1436), and *with sharp repents* (l. 1867).

²⁷ I, ii, 29.

²⁸ *Alphonsus*, 59-60.

²⁹ *A Looking Glasse*, l. 1165-66.

³⁰ *George a Greene*, 581-83.

James IV);³¹ Greene's characteristic for *to* to indicate the gerundive of purpose nowhere appears in B., although a number of gerundives of purpose occur;³² Greene's characteristic use of the infinitive for the abstract noun (*as depart* for *departure*) is not to be found in B.; and B.'s stage direction beginning with *here* occurs but once in Greene (*Friar Bacon*, xi, 83), and that with *then* but twice (*Orlando Furioso*, II, i, 536; V, ii, 375) and in both cases with the *then* in a median position. The great difference in the percentage of feminine endings especially can scarcely be accounted for on the basis either of haste or of lack of interest in his material, and it would therefore seem that we must assign the work of B. to some unknown author rather than to Greene. At best, we can only bring in the Scotch verdict, "Not proved."³³

III. THE D. SCENES

Passing for the moment over the two scenes attributed to C., let us turn to Fleay's D. group. From these, V, iii*b*, the Margaret wooing scene, and V, v, the final link to *Part 2*, have already been

³¹ In the doubtful *George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield*, which has the conceptual and structural traits of Greene, but is largely lacking in his peculiar vocabulary, I find in the 1220 lines of corrupt text only 491 lines susceptible of scansion as iambic pentameters, of which 74 lines have feminine endings, a percentage of 15.0. The corruption of text makes this no basis for argument, and the figures of course tell strongly against the idea that Greene wrote the play at all, unless one accepts the by no means improbable theory that Greene habitually outlined his plays in a running dialogue, half prose, half verse, before elaborating them into more literary compositions stiffened in versification, phrasing, classical allusions, and the like; and that he allowed this play to go from him in a highly incomplete form. The play belonged to Sussex' Men (*Henslowe's Diary*, I, 16; II, 158), with which company Greene's name is not otherwise connected.

³² In Greene's later work, however, this trait was diminishing. In his first play, *Alphonsus*, there are fifty-eight cases, but in *Orlando Furioso* and *Friar Bacon* only three and eight respectively.

³³ The argument for Greene might be considerably strengthened by listing the many "word-clues" pointing to his authorship as collected by Professor H. C. Hart (Arden ed., as published by Bobbs-Merrill Co., pp. xiv-xix, and notes *passim*). Professor Hart believes (p. xii) that

removed as later interpolations.¹ The remaining scenes, V, ii, *iiia*, and *iv*, are characterized in the spelling tests by the forms *Ione* (compare the *Ioane* of B. and C.), *Pucell* (compare the *Puzell* of B.), and *Burgundy* (compare the *Burgonie* of C.). Since we have dismissed the single case of *Reynold* as a mere misprint for *Reignier*, no distinction in spelling from the work of A. remains in this section, but the passages wholly lack the individuality of A.'s style. With these scenes we may include the Talbot death scenes (IV, ii-vii), which, while scanty in the test words, have yet enough for our purpose. The last named scenes contain 272 lines, a closely knit unit in subject matter, beginning with the immediate circumstances of the English hero's peril and passing through the vain attempts to secure him timely aid to the pathetic outcome. The spelling *Pucell* separates them from the work of B., and *Burgundie* from that of C., while the nearly 150 lines of consecutive couplets alone would effectively prevent their assignment to Marlowe. The Talbot death scenes therefore belong to D.—unless indeed we needlessly introduce the hypothesis of a fifth original author. Further, it should be noted, the Talbot death

"Assuredly . . . Greene had a hand in the composition" of *Part 1*, in collaboration probably with Peele and Shakespeare. But in fairness the use of such evidence here would require the publication of a minute classification and analysis of several hundred parallels from a number of other authors also, including Shakespeare, Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Nashe, Spenser, the Chroniclers, *et al.*; and this would have to be applied to each scene in the play. A thorough study of all the material supplied by Professor Hart leaves me extremely sceptical of its value unless treated with the greatest caution. Complete collection is impossible without the aid of several non-existent concordances; the dates, when known, of quoted parallel passages must always be weighed; only really distinctive word-combinations are of value, and these are precisely the phrases most apt to be borrowed sporadically by other authors; and the possible rise of a temporary popular "fad" for a given word or word-collocation must always be taken into account. Accordingly, while such clues may have general cumulative value, one can rarely be sure of the validity of the evidence in any given passage. I therefore refrain from the use of any material of this nature.

¹ See pp. 26-35.

series and the succeeding French scenes are linked, in that IV, vii, 95, "And now to Paris," is distinctly echoed in V, ii, 4,

Then march to Paris Royall *Charles* of France,
and the thought of the succeeding line, IV, vii, 96,

All will be ours, now bloody *Talbots* slaine,
is duplicated in V, ii, 16-17,

I trust the Ghost of *Talbot* is not there:
Now he is gone my Lord, you neede not feare.

These considerations give D. all of the original play from IV, ii, to the end, V, iv, except V, i, a Gloucester-Winchester scene by Marlowe.

It would seem, then, that to author D. was assigned the end of the Talbot story, the end of the Joan story, and the final scenes in which the original play closed with the conclusion of peace. This gives D. all of the original form of the Folio Act IV² except (Folio) IV, *ia*, *ib*, and *ii*, and the Shakespearean interpolation (Folio) IV, *iiic*; or, in terms of the modern scene numbering, D. wrote IV, ii-vii, and V, ii, *iiia*, and *iv*.

(a) The Talbot Death Scenes, IV, v-vii

It is not to be considered, however, that this material has undergone no modifications. At the end of the Talbot death scenes, in IV, vii, there is clear evidence that some revision has taken place. At the end of IV, vi, 50, the audience has for 147 lines been listening to practically uninterrupted iambic pentameter couplets.³ From that point the Folio text continues as follows:

Enter Lucie.

Lu[cy]. Herald, conduct me to the Dolphins Tent,
To know who hath obtain'd the glory of the day.

Char[les]. On what submissive message art thou sent?

Lucy. Submission Dolphin? 'Tis a meere French word.
We English Warriours wot not what it meanes.
I come to know what Prisoners thou hast tane,
And to suruey the bodies of the dead.

² As listed on pages 70-71.

³ Not absolutely uninterrupted—one line is unrhymed at IV, vi, 1, as are two at IV, vii, 33-34.

Char[les]. For prisoners askst thou? Hell our prison is.
But tell me whom thou seekst?

Luc[y]. But where's the great Alcides of the field,
Valiant Lord *Talbot* Earle of Shrewsbury?
Created for his rare successe in Armes,
Great Earle of *Washford*, *Waterford*, and *Valence*,
Lord *Talbot* of *Goodrig* and *Vrchinfield*,
Lord *Strange* of *Blackmere*, Lord *Verdon* of *Alton*,
Lord *Cromwell* of *Wingefeld*, Lord *Furniuall* of *Sheffield*,
The thrice victorious Lord of *Falconbridge*,
Knight of the Noble Order of *S. George*,
Worthy *S. Michael* and the *Golden Fleece*,
Great Marshall to *Henry* the sixt,
Of all his Warres within the Realme of France.

Puc[elle]. Heere's a silly stately stile indeede:
The Turke that two and fiftie Kingdomes hath,
Writes not so tedious a Stile as this.
Him that thou magnifi'st with all these Titles,
Stinking and fly blowne lyes heere at our feete.

Lucy. Is *Talbot* slaine, the Frenchmens only Scourge,
Your Kingdomes terror, and blacke *Nemesis*?
Oh were mine eye-balles into Bullets turn'd,
That I in rage might shoot them at your faces.
Oh, that I could but call these dead to life,
It were enough to fright the Realme of France.
Were but his Picture left amongst you here,
It would amaze the prowdest of you all.
Giue me their Bodyes, that I may beare them hence,
And giue them Buriall, as beseemes their worth.

Pucel[le]. I think this vpstart is old *Talbots* Ghost,
He speakes with such a proud commanding spirit:
For Gods sake let him haue him, to keepe them here,
They would but stinke, and putrifie the ayre.

Char[les]. Go take their bodies hence.

Lucy. Ile beare them hence: but from their ashes shal be reard
A Phoenix that shall make all France appear'd.

Char[les]. So we be rid of them, do with him what y wilt.
And now to Paris in this conquering vaine,
All will be ours, now bloody *Talbots* slaine. *Exit.*

In this passage, it will be observed, the first and third lines form a couplet, the two parts of which have been separated by the insertion of an additional line, and a careless Alexandrine at

that. The next five lines are unrhymed iambic pentameter, but the fact that the sixth is merely a trimeter suggests that an original couplet effect may have been destroyed by the omission of the last two feet and the rhyme-word; and corroboration that the trimeter line is old is found in the fact that the next line, beginning the elegiac speech on Talbot, inartistically opens with a *But* like the line preceding, an un-Shakespearean rhetorical fault that has crept in as a result of the insertion. The list of Talbot's titles is derived from Talbot's epitaph, first published, so far as is known, seven years after the composition of the original play, in Crompton's *Mansion of Magnanimitie* (1599), and later in Brooke's *Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles and Viscounts of the Realm of England* (1619).⁴ Six lines from the end of the scene occur other indications of patchwork, marking the end of the insertion. Charles' *Go take their bodies hence* is merely a trimeter, and the answer in the next line, *Ile beare them hence*, not only needlessly repeats his phrase but also inartistically repeats the exact phrasing of eight lines above; while the rest of Lucy's answer forms a rhymed couplet that has been disturbed by the insertion of the *Ile beare them hence*, transforming the pentameter into another careless Alexandrine. Finally, after the insertion of another unrhymed line, the scene ends with a rhymed couplet. All these indications point to the probability that the first form of the present IV, vii, like the 97 lines preceding, was in rhymed couplets throughout; that the epitaph and surrounding material were inserted at a date which, with our present knowledge, we cannot place earlier than 1599; and that some attempt, none too careful, has been made to shade the passage from couplets into blank verse at the beginning and back again into the concluding couplets retained to round the end. The inserted passage, it will be noted, is metrically Shakespeare's, containing 15.8 per cent. of feminine endings and only 3.3 per cent. of pyrrhic feet. If this be correct reading of the evidence, those parts of the Talbot death scenes now in couplets (IV, v, 16, to IV, vii, 50) were in couplets at least before the revision of 1599 and presumably in 1592. Of course, we have every rea-

⁴ Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, p. 233, and 233 n. 1.

son to believe this also on the other grounds (1) that in its stichomythic lachrymose whine their style is absolutely unlike that of Shakespeare, and (2) that as the section v-viia forms the climax of the death scenes and is therefore known from Nashe's testimony to have been the most moving part of the play in early 1592, it constitutes the last passage in the entire drama which, in the main, Shakespeare would have been likely to alter.

If we examine the passages in couplets (IV, v, 16 to IV, vii, 50) more carefully, we find that they yield us certain further data that we may cite in full, partly because they corroborate this view and partly because they will prove helpful in our further discussion. (1) Their basis is not Holinshed, who summarizes the story of the death of Talbot in some 160 words, but Halle,⁵ who gives a detailed account over three times as long as Holinshed's and quotes *in extenso* the plea of Talbot to his son to leave the battle, a passage which the author of the couplets unmistakably uses as a source.⁶ This use of Halle immediately tends further to differentiate Author D. from Shakespeare, who in his work consistently bases on the second edition of Holinshed (1587)⁷ and who in his other insertions in this play gives no indication of having consulted any chronicler whatever during revision. (2) there is a sense of distinct break in the characterization of Talbot, who is no longer the resourceful soldierly leader of the earlier half of the play. He is much older. When his son begs him to fly, he replies,

My Age was neuer tainted with such shame.⁸

⁵ *The Union of the Noble Families of Lancastre and Yorke*, 1548; possibly through Grafton, 1569.

⁶ Cf. IV, v, 18, 28, 40, 45-46, and V, vi, 18. Note especially Talbot's argument in Halle that flight will make his son "able another tyme, if I be slayn to reuenge my death" and Talbot's words in the play at IV, v, 18, "Flye, to reuenge my death, if I be slaine."

⁷ Two passages in *Richard III* (III, v, 76-79, and III, vii, 94, stage direction) appear to be indebted to Halle (cf. *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, pp. 374, 383). A careful survey of the evidence shows no necessity for the assumption that Shakespeare at any other place in his work directly based upon that chronicler, and the indebtedness in *Richard III* may easily be indirect.

⁸ IV, v, 46.

Later⁹ his is "Leaden Age," and again¹⁰

If I to day dye not with Frenchmens Rage,
To morrow I shall dye with mickle Age.

And yet the events are supposedly the near result of the orders given the virile Talbot of IV, i. Even after one has made due allowances for the pathos of the situation and for the looseness of construction of the chronicle play type, the difference is still too great to permit of its being the consecutive product of the author of IV, i. (3) Talbot explicitly blames York for his defeat, although without any mention of Somerset.

The Regent hath with *Talbot* broke his word,
And left vs to the rage of France his Sword.¹¹

The relation between the English disaster and the York thread of the plot was therefore established in the original form of the play. (4) Lucy, who is named in the stage direction at IV, vii, 19, and whose speech at entrance is the first line of a couplet, was evidently a part of the original machinery of the passage. This would have been probable on other grounds, moreover, as some device of the kind was quite as necessary in the original form as later, in order to clear the uncurtained stage of the dead bodies of Talbot and his son. (5) The couplets, both in the stichomythic and the non-stichomythic passages, tend strongly toward balance of line against line or balance of phrases within the line. In the 157 lines of couplets 2.5 per cent. have feminine endings and 7 per cent. have pyrrhic fifth feet. The last syllable of a pyrrhic foot is used to rhyme with a strong masculine ending in 3.5 per cent. of the lines. Abnormal *-éd* is employed in median position three times (v, 41; vii, 21, 45), and in final position for rhyme once (vi, 18). (6) In the passage there is only one line that is strikingly phrased, namely,

Thou antique Death, which laugh'st vs here to scorn.¹²

In the Folio form of this line, as here quoted, I can perceive nothing peculiarly Shakespearean, and with the emended spelling in the

⁹ IV, vi, 12.

¹⁰ IV, vi, 34-35.

¹¹ IV, vi, 2-3.

¹² IV, vii, 18.

modern editions of *antique* to *antic*, the atmosphere of the *danse macabre*, though more striking, is even more mediaeval and less Shakespearean than before.¹³ (7) There is a tendency toward the use of archaisms: *well I wot*,¹⁴ *mickle Age*,¹⁵ *it is no boot*.¹⁶ (8) Finally, it may be noted that the thought and rhymes are frequently repetitious, and that the father's reiteration of the name of his "valiant John," whatever may have been its effect on the Elizabethan stage, is in the modern library ludicrous.

(b) The Talbot Death Series, IV, II-IV

Having in this way established from v, 16, to vii, 50, a kind of norm for the original material of the death scenes in general, (a phrase that must not be taken to imply that these scenes were necessarily in couplets throughout, although that is more than possible), we may examine the other scenes of the series, IV, ii-vii, in their present form.

The opening scene (IV, ii) shows clear signs of having been rewritten. It contains a greater number of distinctively Shakespearean lines than any other passage of similar length in the play except the Rose Garden scene. Dr. Gray, suggesting Shakespeare's "remarkable adjective grouping" as a possible test of authorship, cites from this scene the following instances:¹⁷

Shall lay your stately, and ayre-brauing Towers,
Thou ominous and fearefull Owle of death,
Loe, there thou standst a breathing valiant man

¹³ Dr. Tucker Brooke calls attention (Yale Shakespeare ed., 142-3) to the use of the transferred adjective in the phrase *bold-fac'd victory* (IV, vi, 12), and to the fanciful metaphors and similes in *Now thou art seal'd the Sonne of Chivalrie* (IV, vi, 29), *To saue a paltry Life and slay bright Fame* (IV, vi, 45), *Triumphant Death, smear'd with Captiuitie* (IV, vii, 3), and *inherced in the armes Of the most bloody Nursser of his harmes* (IV, vii, 46); but I find nothing essentially Shakespearean in any of these, and Dr. Brooke himself cites them at the end of lists of some length in which he finds "a gradual decrease . . . in the recognizable Shakespearean quality."

¹⁴ IV, vi, 32.

¹⁵ IV, vi, 35.

¹⁶ IV, vi, 52.

¹⁷ These are successively lines 13, 15, 31, 38, 44, and 50.

Shall see thee withered, bloody, pale, and dead.
 O negligent and heedlesse Discipline,
 But rather moodie mad: And desperate Stagges,

and adds the note: "all these in a scene of fifty-six lines . . . I have never found in Greene or Peele a grouping of words which requires of us a sudden expansion of the imagination,—of adjectives each appropriate but not belonging together until combined in a line of great poetry. Hamlet's

—why the sepulchre
 Hath oped his ponderous and marble jaws

gives us this perfect combination of dissimilars; but when in [another part of] the play before us we read,

This speedy and quick appearance argues proof¹⁸

we have a combination of words which it is not at all necessary to attribute to Shakespeare!"¹⁹

But there are a number of other indications of Shakespeare's hand in the passage. The opening speech, Talbot's summons to the general of Bordeaux to surrender, in its fourteen lines contains not only the reference to *stately and ayre-brauing Towers* above referred to, but also the lines,

You tempt the fury of my three attendants,
 Leane Famine, quartering Steele, and climbing Fire,²⁰

which are related to lines 6-8 of the Prologue to *Henry V*:

and at his heeles
 (Leasht in, like Hounds) should Famine, Sword, and Fire
 Crouch for employment,

which passage is apparently derived from a speech of Henry V to the besieged citizens of Rouen in which he refers to "blood, fire, and famine" as the "three handmaidens" of Bellona, goddess of

¹⁸ V, iii, 8, a D. scene.

¹⁹ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII, 369-70, n. 4.

²⁰ IV, ii, 10-11.

war,²¹ and to which the passage in *1 Henry VI* is even more closely related than that in *Henry V*.²²

These lines therefore also probably date from after the composition of *Henry V* in 1599. Note, too, the skilful massing and the effective climaxing of the General's reply, with its striking opening line,

Thou ominous and fearefull Owle of death,

its rapid sketch of the four-sided trap in which the English stand (which has no basis in the Chronicles), its quick turn to Talbot's personal danger,

Ten thousand French haue tane the Sacrament
To ryue their dangerous Artillerie
Vpon no Christian soule but English *Talbot*,

the elegiac tribute paid to the doomed hero by his foe, and the exit of the general while the drum

Sings heauy Musicke to thy timorous soule.

Finally, the scene ends with one of the most vivid pictures of deer-hunting to be found in the Shakespeare canon.

How are we park'd and bounded in a pale?
A little Heard of Englands timorous Deere,
Maz'd with a yelping kennell of French Curres.
If we be English Deere, be then in blood,
Not Rascall-like to fall downe with a pinch,
But rather moodie mad: And desperate Stagges,
Turne on the bloody Hounds with heads of Steele,
And make the Cowards stand aloofe at bay.

Who among the early Elizabethan dramatists has this easy fluent mastery of the technicalities of venery but Shakespeare himself? The metrics of the scene, too, are Shakespearean, with over 16 per cent. of feminine endings.

There is, however, one clear indication that the scene is a rewriting of an original passage presumably dealing with the same material. D.'s authority, Halle, in a passage not given by

²¹ *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, 165-7.

²² The point is noted by Dr. Tucker Brooke, *Yale Shakespeare ed. of 1 Henry VI*, 123.

Holinshed,²³ quotes Talbot as having called himself "the terror and scourge of the French people," and in line 16 of this scene the General refers to Talbot as

Our Nations terror, and their bloody scourge.

This echo from Halle is far more probably a line retained from the original (note also its balanced *modifier-noun-connective-modifier-noun* construction) than it is the result of Shakespeare's independent consulting of Halle, with whom, as we have said, he shows little, if any, acquaintance. In line 37, too, occurs the only abnormal *-éd* in the scene, used terminally for a rhyme in an isolated couplet, and almost certainly retained from the original form.

In scenes iii and iv, the indications are less clear and the problem of authorship more difficult. There are two points, however, connecting the present scene iii with the original version. The sixteen lines of couplets (lines 28-33 and 37-46) have in general the antithesis and balance of the couplets in scenes v-vii; and the extreme tautology of their balanced opening line,

Mad ire, and wrathfull fury makes me weepe,

is not at all like Shakespeare. More significant still, in this scene Sir William Lucy makes his first appearance. We have already seen²⁴ that he was pretty certainly a part of the original version. In this scene we see him developing in the hands of his creator from a mere piece of dramatic machinery to a personality. On his entrance the stage direction is simply *Enter another Messenger*. He has three speeches, each preceded by the simple abbreviation *Mes*. At last, casually in his concluding speech, York says, *Lucie farewell*, and in the two scenes in which the character later appears he is always referred to as *Lucy* in stage directions and before speeches. The growth of Lucy from a messenger into a man and the amount and the style of the couplet material therefore apparently fix the main outline and much of the text of the scene as original. In line 10 the prosaic *promisééd* with abnormal *-éd* sounds unlike Shakespeare and probably indicates a retained line.

²³ It is alluded to in *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, 232, and quoted in the Yale Shakespeare ed. of the play, 131.

²⁴ P. 130.

The blank verse in general, however, may perhaps be Shakespeare's rewriting, and the fact that of the first twenty-seven lines that precede the beginning of the couplet impulse in the scene, seven (over 26 per cent.) have feminine endings, strongly points in this direction. To Shakespeare perhaps should be also assigned Lucy's seven-line soliloquy ending the scene and pointing the national scope of the tragedy.

Scene iv is parallel in action to scene iii, representing Lucy's appeal to Somerset as scene iii had shown his appeal to York. In its present form, scene iv is almost wholly Shakespeare's. The forty-six lines of the scene are entirely in blank verse, though there are sporadic couplets in lines 8-9, 37-38, and 45-46. There are over 26 per cent. of feminine endings, and in the first five lines there are two full stops at the caesura followed by smoothly run-on effects at the end of the line, a metrical arrangement typical of the mature Shakespeare. The lines are not strikingly marked, but they are more vivid, fluent, and spontaneous than the blank verse of the scene before; and such lines as

Who ring'd about with bold aduersitie²⁵

are not unworthy of the master. Variety is attained by introducing a Captain, also from the beset army, as Lucy's companion on his errand to Somerset. There are two expressions, *buckled with* and *over-daring*, that do not occur in any other Shakespearean play and that are here present in a passage ending in a couplet. These facts, taken with the other two couplets in the scene, and with the fact that York threw the blame for the situation upon Somerset in the couplets in the preceding scene, are evidence that this scene, like the preceding, was rewritten from D.

With regard to the series IV, ii-vii, therefore, we may conclude that in general outline of action it is as conceived in the original version of 1592. Scenes ii, iii, and iv have been largely rewritten, however. The originally effective couplets of scenes v, vi, and viia to the death of Talbot, are retained unaltered, but a more effective rounding of scene vii has been achieved by the introduction of the list of titles from Talbot's epitaph, apparently first available in 1599. In the original version York and Somerset

²⁵ IV, iv, 14.

were held jointly responsible for the English disaster, but we may agree with Dr. H. D. Gray²⁶ that here as elsewhere, Shakespeare, while revising the scenes, took the opportunity further to emphasize the idea

That for a toy, a thing of no regard,
King Henries Peeres, and cheefe Nobility,
Destroy'd themselves, and lost the Realme of France.

And it is significant that in the only pair of unrhymed lines that appear in the series of couplets from IV, v, 16, to IV, vii, 50 (lines certainly therefore to be considered as an interpolation), and which are effectively placed in the mouth of the French King on his entrance at IV, vii, 33, the same idea is emphasized:

Had Yorke and Somerset brought rescue in,
We should haue found a bloody day of this.

(c) The Fate of Joan and the Conclusion of Peace

Leaving the Talbot death series, which constitutes five-eighths of IV, i, according to the division of scenes in the Folio, we pass over (Folio) scene ii (V, i, according to the modern division), which is in blank verse and which has already been shown²⁷ to be one of the Marlowe group.

Scene iiia (modern V, ii) resumes the story of the advance of Charles the Dauphin and the French army upon Paris approximately at the point where we left them at the end of the Talbot death series, and contains the two thought repetitions from the end of that scene already referred to.²⁸ Here the couplet impulse that dominated the last half of the Talbot death series is not yet exhausted. While only two pairs of couplets are consecutive, lines 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 17, 19, and 20, contain rhyme effects—three of them (6, 11, 14) imperfect rhymes—and these are so scattered through the brief 21-line scene as to color the whole. With the end of this passage the impulse toward a continuous

²⁶ H. D. Gray, "The Purport of Shakespeare's Contribution to *I Henry VI*," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII, 371-8, which view the above analysis markedly modifies but does not basically invalidate.

²⁷ See pp. 93-98.

²⁸ Modern IV, vii, 96, and V, ii, 4; IV, vii, 97, and V, ii, 16-17.

rhyme effect dies out of the play. In this scene occurs the distinctive D. spelling *Ione*, as well as in the next scene (unnumbered in the Folio; now V, *iiia*), and in the scene that originally²⁹ followed that (unnumbered in the Folio; now V, *iva*).

The two scenes last mentioned, V, *iiia*, and V, *iva*, contain D.'s version of Joan's capture and death. It is here that the unforgivable insult (far in excess of any foundation in their sources in the Chronicles)³⁰ is offered to the memory of the Maid of France. She is shown actually begging aid of visible Fiends whom, according to her statement, she "had been wont to feed . . . with [her] blood," and she mingles her pleas with offers of unchastity:

My body shall
Pay recompence, if you will graunt my suite;

while in V, *iv*, she repeatedly denies her father, mendaciously vaunts noble birth, lies concerning her sorcery, claims exemption from the stake on the ground of pregnancy with the assignment successively to Charles, Alençon, and Regnier of the illicit fatherhood of her unborn child, and finally passes to her doom cursing her captors and cursed by them. Except for a moment of elevation in Joan's defence these scenes, like all of the D. passages, are, from a literary point of view, at best mediocre.

The one touch of elevation given to Joan, lines 35-53, contradicts the other parts of the scene in making Joan claim, not merely that she is of noble birth, but that she is "issued from the Progeny of Kings," and in putting into her mouth a defence in exalted language of her chastity and her heaven-sent power, and a scathing rebuke of her persecutors as

polluted with your lustes,
Stain'd with the guiltlesse blood of Innocents,
Corrupt and tainted with a thousand Vices,—

the whole in such elevated mood and with such dramatic power (both far above D.'s level elsewhere) as curiously to defeat the obvious dramatic intention of the scene by rewinning our admira-

²⁹ They are now separated by the Shakespearean interpolation, the Margaret-Suffolk scene, V, *iiib*.

³⁰ See Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, pp. x-xi.

tion for the character whom D. intended to make repulsive. An examination of the metrics of the passage unmistakably confirms the suspicion aroused by its superiority and by its incongruity with its surroundings. The 22.2 per cent. of feminine endings in these lines, as compared with the 5.5 per cent. in the remainder of the scene, marks this as an interpolation by Shakespeare. York's following line,

I, I, away with her to execution!

is either a part of the interpolation, raising the feminine endings to 26.3 per cent., or has had the "I, I," ("Ay, ay") interpolated and stood originally

Away with her to ex-e-cu-ti-on,

as D. certainly would have scanned the last word. Either way, take out the passage and the following lines connect smoothly with the preceding line 35. It is thus a satisfaction to note that, *while Shakespeare made no attempt to rewrite the end of the Joan story as a whole, yet the only great moment given her in the entire infamous V, iiii-iv, was an insertion from his hand.*

One other point should be mentioned. In V, i va, York takes the place historically occupied by the Duke of Bedford as the judge of Joan. In this passage York lacks the individuality he has had throughout the preceding scenes and that he has again in the following scene, the conclusion of peace. This may be due solely to the authorship's having shifted from Marlowe to D., but it is quite possible that in the earliest stages of the composition of the 1592 version the part in the trial scene was originally written for the older Bedford, and that York was substituted anachronistically when Bedford was killed by C.

Who was D.? Fleay assigned the scenes to Lodge on the ground that "his versification is unmistakable" and that the phrase *cooling card*⁸¹ is used several times elsewhere by Lodge, but "has not been traced in Greene, Peele, or Marlowe." A sufficient comment on Fleay's certainty as to the "unmistakable" versification is to be found in the fact that nine years before, in a matured

⁸¹ V, iii, 84. On the importance, in Fleay's estimation, of this "trade-mark" of Lodge, see his *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, II, 49, 50, 51, 53.

statement,³² he had distributed the scenes he now gives Lodge, among Shakespeare (V, ii), Peele (V, iiib, ivb), and "Marlowe altered, possibly by Lodge or Nashe" (V, iiia, iva, v). The fact is, the deciding element with him was the phrase *cooling card*, found in the passage that Fleay considered that his spelling tests gave to D. But we have already seen³³ that the scene in which *cooling card* occurs is a later interpolation by Shakespeare. There is really not a scrap of evidence that Lodge wrote these passages. Further, as has been shown, Lodge had left England several months earlier.

On the contrary, the entire section contains strong evidence of being the work of Peele. Richard Grant White long ago assigned Talbot's death scenes to Peele on the ground that "the pathos is his."³⁴ Not only is this true, but Peele has exactly the same trick of dropping into couplets (sometimes expanded into triple and quadruple groups) to mark off passages of a peculiar atmosphere or tone. Thus, in *Edward I* (entered in the Stationers' Register October 8, 1593, and nearest the type of *I Henry VI* of any of the plays of Peele's sole authorship) five long passages³⁵ are in general set off by the pentameter rhymed couplet form, and four others³⁶ by the tetrameter rhymed couplet with, in places, a strong tendency toward ballad stanza movement. In minor metrical details, too, D. and Peele are close together. In *Edward I* the very unevenly distributed feminine endings vary between 0.0 per cent. in scenes xv-xvii (42 lines) and 7.8 per cent. in scene xiii (51 blank verse lines), with a general percentage of 2.1 for the 1426 blank verse lines of the play. In D.'s work we have a variation between 0.0 in V, iiia (43 lines) and 7.6 in V, iv (156 lines), with a general percentage of 5.8 for D.'s total of 221 blank verse lines. In Peele's 263 lines of pentameter couplets in *Edward I*

³² *Introduction to Shakespearian Study* (1877), 30, correcting opinions previously expressed in his *Shakespeare Manual* (1876), 31.

³³ See pp. 29-32 and p. 35 n. 40.

³⁴ See his dissertation "On the Authorship of Henry VI" in his ed. of Shakespeare, 1859-65, vol. vii, 408-68.

³⁵ In the text in Bullen's ed., sc. vi, 41-68, 85-132; x, 36-119, 199-214, 227-263.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 46-96; vii, 6-18; viii, 1-99, 114-163.

there is a general percentage of 1.5 of feminine endings as compared with 2.5 in the 157 lines of consecutive couplets remaining in the work of D. Both employ the double feminine ending,³⁷ which is rare among the predecessors of Shakespeare. They both use abnormal *-éd* to stand under the ultimate accent in blank verse³⁸ and D.'s percentage of median abnormal *-èd* is 2.3 as compared with 1.6 in *Edward I*. The two plays have in common the feature of brief stage directions concerning action,³⁹ which are in general found elsewhere in our play only in the work of B. The archaism *wot* (in Elizabethan English fairly well hardened into a few idioms such as "God wot," but in *1 Henry VI* found twice as an ordinary verb within a hundred lines, *well I wot*⁴⁰ and *We English warriors wot*⁴¹) is a favorite with Peele, being similarly employed eight times in the 2753 lines of text of *Edward I*. And, even granting the difficulties in the text of the latter play, it is to be noted that *Ione*, one of Fleay's test spellings for D., is the spelling always employed in *Edward I* for the name of the daughter of Queen Eleanor; while it is certainly at least a striking coincidence that in the same play, xxv, 211, occurs the phrase *Ione hath lived too long*, while in *1 Henry VI*, V, iv, 34, York says of Joan,

Take her away, for she hath liu'd too long.

While in general the material of the D. scenes does not lend itself to the use of classic allusions, D., like Peele, cannot resist the temptation. He twice drags Daedalus and Icarus into the Talbot death scenes,⁴² likens the "ashes" of Talbot to those of the phoenix,⁴³ and makes York compare Joan to Circe.⁴⁴

³⁷ Cf. *1 Henry VI*, V, iv, 61, 106, 114, with *Edward I*, i, 1, 141; iii, 27; etc.

³⁸ Cf. *1 Henry VI*, V, iv, 58, 110, with *Edward I*, i, 244, etc.

³⁹ Cf. *1 Henry VI*, V, iii, 17-19, with *Edward I*, i, 170; ii, 173, 205; etc.

⁴⁰ IV, vi, 32.

⁴¹ IV, vii, 55.

⁴² IV, vi, 54-55; IV, vii, 16.

⁴³ IV, vii, 92-93.

⁴⁴ V, iii, 35.

As a dramatist Peele has two major defects, (1) lack of mental balance, even extravagance, in conception, and (2) lack of power in the architectonics of plot. The second would of course not appear in *1 Henry VI*, since D. was working over a plot outlined by one, if not more, of the strongest plotters among the pre-Shakespeareans: but the extravagant and wanton additions to the characterization of Joan of Arc in their morbidity find parallels in *Edward I* in the details of the pretended torture of David by Lluellen, in Queen Eleanor's demand that the breasts of all the English women shall be cut off, in her murder of the wife of the Lord Mayor by forcing her to "suckle" a serpent, in the ghastly miracle of her punishment by sinking into the earth at Charing Green and rising again at Pottershithe, and in the details of her double adultery related in her final confession to her disguised husband. In short, after a careful comparison of D.'s work with that of Peele most closely analogous to it, I have not the shadow of a doubt that D. was Peele.

IV. THE C. SCENES.

Finally, returning to the two scenes, III, ii and iii, assigned by Fleay to C., there can be no doubt that they represent the work of a hand not found elsewhere in the play. The spelling *Pucell* distinguishes him from B., the spellings *Ioane* and *Burgonie* (the latter probably based upon Holinshed's form, *Burgognie*) from D., and the consistently monosyllabic *Roan* (for *Rouen*) and the general style from A. The scenes constitute a unit treating a new series of military events in a new location in France and requiring no detailed knowledge on the part of the writer concerning what had preceded; and Burgundy, who occupies a very subordinate part in II, i and ii (the work of B.) and in IV, vii, and V, ii (the work of D.), is in III, ii, given prominence as the French ally of England, in harmony with the following scene of his desertion of the English, the two scenes being evidently part of the one conception. C.'s treatment of his sources, too, is distinctive. While none of the other collaborators hesitate to adapt and add to the historical facts freely in order to obtain dramatic effects, no one so extravagantly wrests history as C. Apparently his first interest

was in the second turret scene. In order to obtain the effect of the appearance of Joan in the turret with the flaming signal (III, ii, 1-32) he combines details from the English capture of Evreux by stratagem, transferred from the English to the French credit, with the story of the cresset of light at the time of the French capture of Le Mans (in Holinshed twenty-one pages distant), and applies both to a wholly fictitious capture and recapture of Rouen.¹ Again, in order to achieve the pathos of the aged and dying man sitting on a chair on the battle-field to encourage the English troops, he greatly exaggerates the age of Bedford and predates his death by four years,² thereby, as has been said,³ possibly forcing a later substitution of York for Bedford in the work of D. at V, iv. The change in date, by which the Duke of Burgundy's defection from the English cause in 1435 is made to precede the capture and burning of Joan in 1431, must have been arranged in the original plotting of the play in order to prepare for IV, i, the work of B.; but C. is responsible for the fact that Joan's argument to Burgundy in regard to the capture and release of the Duke of Orleans by the English is the exact reverse of the truth as the Chroniclers give it,⁴ although C. was in personal touch with their account, as is evident by his alone using the spelling *Burgo(g)nie* and by his following Halle's chronicle verbally at III, iii, 23-25. It is significant, too, that C. alone seems, in a search for additional material, to have resorted to Fabian and, either directly or indirectly, to Geoffrey of Monmouth.⁵ Stylistically, also, C. stands somewhat apart: he makes Joan speak of "*the* Talbot,"⁶ address the French King and nobles as "your honors,"⁷ and use the odd phrase "unto Parisward";⁸ he employs the Latinisms "Talbonites,"⁹ "extirped" and "expulsed,"¹⁰ and

¹ Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, 224-26.

² *Ibid.*, 224.

³ P. 138.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 226-8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 225-6.

⁶ III, iii, 20.

⁷ III, iii, 27.

⁸ III, iii, 30.

⁹ III, ii, 28.

¹⁰ III, iii, 24, 25; for Halle's "pull up by the roots" and "expel."

"prejudice [i.e., injure] the foe";¹¹ unlike Shakespeare, he pronounces the name *Hecate* as a trisyllable;¹² and his versification is markedly alliterative.

To the characterization of Joan, C. contributes her taunting of the English, including her scoffs at the dying Bedford; but as in the work of B., and in direct contradiction to the manner of D., he makes Alençon say, even in defeat,

Wee'le set thy Statue in some holy place,
And haue thee reuerenc't like a blessed Saint.
Employ thee then, sweet Virgin, for our good.¹³

Her address to Burgundy has considerable real eloquence, but into her mouth, when he finally yields, is put the sneering aside,

Done like a Frenchman: turne and turne againe.

Were the scenes by C. revised by Shakespeare? There are several indications of some slight retouching. The passage,

Pucell: What will you doe, good gray-beard?
Break a Launce, and runne a-Tilt at Death,
Within a Chayre.¹⁴

is mis-lined in the Folio as indicated and may be a marginal re-writing of a less vigorous original, possibly together with Talbot's rebuke in the next four lines. Two other lines¹⁵ are split in the printing. And five lines picturing Sir John Fastolfe's cowardly desertion of Talbot (described in I, i and iv, as occurring at Orleans, and in IV, i, as at Poitiers) appear dragged in in such isolated form here at Rouen as to lead one strongly to suspect that they were inserted by some other than C. (probably A. or B.) in order to prepare for Talbot's outburst at IV, i, 13ff., the work of B.¹⁶ But I can find no line that bears Shakespeare's sign manual; and the metrics are distinctly not Shakespearean, scene ii having but 4.4 per cent. of feminine endings and 12.4 per cent.

¹¹ III, iii, 91.

¹² III, ii, 64.

¹³ III, iii, 14-16.

¹⁴ III, ii, 50-51.

¹⁵ III, iii, 78, 90.

¹⁶ Two of the five lines in question have feminine endings, which is quite unlike C.'s work in general.

of pyrrhic fifth feet, and scene iii having the same proportion of feminine endings and 20 per cent. of final pyrrhics. Even lines 41-84 of scene iii, containing Joan's speech to Burgundy, have but 6.8 per cent. of feminine endings, with 13.6 per cent. of final pyrrhics, the first too low, and the second too high¹⁷ to make assignment to Shakespeare probable.

Who was C.? It is difficult to say. It is suggested that Kyd's letter to Sir John Pickering, penned at some time after Marlowe's death on June 1, 1593, mentions an occasion when he and Marlowe were "wrytinge in one chamber twoe yeares since," which would approximate the date of *1 Henry VI*,¹⁸ yet Kyd had apparently given up play-writing about 1590,¹⁹ and no strikingly distinctive traits of Kyd are found in the passage. Of the Marlowe circle of dramatists, Nashe alone is left; but his only extant isolated dramatic performance, *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, a semi-lyrical pastoral pageant, is so different in type and mood that no conclusion appears possible.²⁰ But the exact identity of the author is of little consequence. The important point is, the facts suggest that after Act IV had been assigned to D., a fourth writer discovered another method of utilizing the turret, and was therefore asked to work it out and to write the following scene, and that he made the most of the scanty material left him. It is a striking fact that as the turret was employed to give a spectacular

¹⁷ Cf. figures on p. 87.

¹⁸ See Boas' ed. of Kyd, p. cviii.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. xxiv-xxv, lxii.

²⁰ Dr. H. D. Gray (*op. cit.*, 375, n. 8) thinks that "since Nashe was not Mr. Bernard Shaw, his complimentary allusion to the play practically rules him out from any claim to part authorship in it." I cannot feel that this excludes Nashe, (1) because the particular passage that he refers to in *Piers Pennilesse* was the work of Peele, not of C.; (2) because, unlike the case of Mr. Shaw, it is not to be assumed that there was any general public knowledge of who were even the principal authors of the play, and Nashe's share in it, if C., was very subordinate; (3) because his primary purpose in the allusion was not to compliment anyone, but to illustrate the point that the drama may exert a valuable moral influence, and he naturally took the most striking example at hand, its authorship being immaterial; and (4) because the Elizabethan pamphleteers were by no means squeamish about such matters at any time.

introduction to B.'s hero, Talbot, so a similar spectacular use was made of it to open the contribution of C.; and it is at least a remarkable coincidence, if nothing more, that Shakespeare's revision of Talbot's speech beginning the section from the pen of D. should similarly contain a reference to "your stately and ayre-brauing Towers," which, if it either repeats or rephrases a line of D.'s, would suggest that the stage equipment above the balcony in which Talbot's adversary was standing was prominently in the mind of a third also of the four original authors of the play.

V. SURVEY OF CONCLUSIONS WITH REGARD TO AUTHORSHIP

On page 159 will be found a tabulation of the authorial relations, so far as the preceding pages appear to justify, in the scenes of the original *harey the vj*.

It is, of course, in such a case impossible to quote figures that will more than approximate the facts, but in the present play, and speaking for convenience in terms of the modern scene-numbering, the lines may be divided among the five authors discussed, somewhat as follows:

Marlowe: I, i (excluding lines 103-148); I, iii (assisted by B.); II, v; III, i (excluding lines 1-40); III, iv, 28-45; IV, i, 187-201; V, i. Total, 606 lines.

B. (Greene?): I, i, 103-148; I, ii (except lines 133-137, added by Shakespeare); I, iii (assisted by Marlowe); I, iv-vi; II, i-iii; III, iv, 1-27; IV, i, 1-77. Total, 828 lines.

C. (Nashe?): III, ii-iii. Total, 228 lines.

Peele: IV, iii (excluding lines 1-27, 34-36); IV, v-vi; IV, vii, 1-50; V, ii; V, iii, 1-44; V, iv (excluding lines 36-54). Total, 406 lines.

Shakespeare (revising): I, ii, 133-137; III, i, 1-40; IV, i, 78-181; IV, ii; IV, iii, 1-27, 34-36; IV, iv; IV, vii, 51-96; V, iv, 36-54. Total, 346 lines.

Shakespeare (new scenes): II, iv; V, iii, 45-195. Total, 285 lines. Total of Shakespearean passages new and revised, 631 lines.

The final link scene, V, v, is for the moment omitted.

VI. THE DATES OF THE REVISIONS AND THEIR RELATION
TO SHAKESPEARE'S BIOGRAPHY

Shakespeare's revisions, certain considerations unmistakably indicate, took place at two different times. The chief revision occurred in 1599 or later, as is indicated by the following evidence:

1. Talbot's epitaph, the source of IV, vii, 60-71, was first published, so far as is known, in Richard Crompton's *Mansion of Magnanimitie*, in that year.

2. *1 Henry VI*, IV, ii, 10-11, echoes *Henry V*, Prologue, 6-8.¹

3. The percentages of feminine endings for the scenes in this group of passages are as follows: II, iv, 26 per cent.; III, i, 1-40 (revising Marlowe), 15 per cent.; IV, i, 78-181 (revising Marlowe), 9 per cent.; IV, ii (revising Peele), 16 per cent.; IV, iii, 1-27, 34-36 (revising Peele), 24 per cent.; IV, iv, (after Peele, but almost entirely rewritten), 26 per cent.; IV, vii, 54-90 (partly inclusive of work of Peele), 11 per cent.; V, iv, 35-54, 26 per cent. It will be noted that all three scenes in which we can clearly isolate Shakespeare's work give practically identical results, and in harmony with the date 1599;² while all of the other scenes, with the exception of III, i, 1-40, and V, iv, 35-54, fall in the Talbot death series, in which the percentage of feminine endings reaches in one scene to 26 per cent., the lowered percentage in the other cases being ascribable to a mixture of Peele's lines retained among those of Shakespeare. V, iv, 35-54, probably reaches a percentage of 26.3, and certainly not less than 22.2. III, i, 1-40, is marked by maturity of style and, like some of the other passages, has especially a tendency to break a run-on sentence in the middle of a line, which justifies us in including it also within the 1599 group.

4. In this group occur seven cases of the line in which one adjective-and-noun combination is balanced against a second.³

¹ Both of the above points are noted by Dr. Tucker Brooke, Yale ed., 123-5, 136.

² Compare *A. Y. L. I*, 25.5 per cent.; *Tw. Nt.*, 25.6; *All's Well*, 29.4; *M. for M.*, 26.1. (König, *op. cit.*, 132.)

³ See pp. 85-86. The cases are III, i, 26; IV, i, 146; IV, ii, 16, 40; IV, iii, 17; IV, iv, 18; IV, vii, 78. These all closely follow the formula,

According to Dr. Hubbard,⁴ this trait in Shakespeare's chronicle plays rises to a climax in *Richard III* with forty occurrences (1.1 per cent. of the 3490 metrical lines in the play) and then again declines to ten occurrences in *Henry V* (0.4 per cent. of the 2693 metrical lines in that play). Since the average of this phenomenon in the cited scenes in *1 Henry VI* is 1.5 per cent., over three times the average for *Henry V*, we are justified in believing that probably some of the cases were retained by Shakespeare from the original passages that he was revising. This is probably true concerning IV, ii, 16; IV, iii, 17; IV, iv, 18; and IV, vii, 78. Note that no cases whatever of this type of line occur in the Temple Garden scene (II, iv).

The scene V, iii, 45-195, which is a part of the link of this play with *Part II*, is, as might be expected, earlier. The indications are:

1. The extreme and long continued balance of "asides," which is too immature for the Shakespeare of 1599. It is true that there is a slight resemblance between this and the scene between Falstaff and the Chief Justice in *2 Henry IV*⁵; but the cases are really in no respect parallel. Falstaff deliberately assumes deafness, has no "asides" but addresses three speeches immediately to the Justice's servant (which speeches he *intends* the Justice to hear), and is *not* imitated in his tactics by the Justice, so that all of the distinguishing traits of the Suffolk-Margaret scene are lacking.

2. The occurrence of the lines,

She's beautifull, and therefore to be Wooed:
She is a Woman, therefore to be Wonne,

a popular phrase that with slight variations occurs repeatedly in

"The fainting army of that foolish king," except that the syllable represented by *that* may disappear, as it does in many of the cases cited by Dr. Hubbard. In these passages revised by Shakespeare, as elsewhere in the play, there are many lines that in structure approach, but do not quite coincide with, this norm.

⁴ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII, 78-80.

⁵ II, i, 184-211; noted by Dr. Brooke, Yale ed., 144, n. 2.

plays of about the date 1592-1593 and earlier.⁶ This apparently does not occur elsewhere in Shakespeare later than 1594.

3. The occurrence of the phrase *a cooling card*. This is particularly associated with works of Holinshed, Lyly, Greene, Harvey, Lodge, and Nashe, dating in composition between 1573 and 1594; although sporadic cases occur as late as Beaumont and Fletcher's *Island Princess* and Dryden's *Kind Keeper*.⁷ There is no later case of its use by Shakespeare, and like the phrase cited under 2, it plainly belongs to the imitative period of his career.

4. The percentage of feminine endings, 4.5. This is very low for Shakespeare, yet for a single scene in an early play it is quite admissible in the light of König's figures⁸ as to the percentage of feminine endings to blank verse lines for *1 Henry IV* (5.1), *King John* (6.3), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (7.3), *Love's Labour's Lost* (7.7), and *Romeo and Juliet* (8.2). These low percentages are especially interesting in the cases of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Love's Labour's Lost*, which certainly date, in part, so late as 1595-6 and 1597.

Taken collectively, these indications point to a date for V, iii, 45-195, of not later than 1594. For further light upon the matter, we must turn again to the question of Shakespeare's biography.⁹

Between Shakespeare's arrival in London, assumed to have occurred about 1586, when he was twenty-two years of age, and the reference to him by Greene in September, 1592, when he was twenty-eight, there is a blank in our knowledge of his history. It has been generally assumed that he early became connected with the company that in 1592 was known as Strange's Men. The grounds for this assumption are (1) that Leicester's Company, some of whose members were afterward incorporated into Strange's company, was one of four companies to visit Stratford in 1587, when "Shakespeare's friends may have called the attention

⁶ E.g., *Richard III*, I, ii, 228-229; *Tit. And.*, II, i, 82-83.

⁷ *1 Henry VI*, ed. Hart, note to V, iii, 84.

⁸ *Quellen und Forschungen*, LXI, 132. I have not verified his calculations.

⁹ The following two paragraphs, and substantially the third, stand as originally written in 1920.

of the strolling players to the homeless youth, rumours of whose search for employment about the London theatres had *doubtless* reached Stratford";¹⁰ (2) that in December, 1594, Shakespeare was certainly connected with the company, appearing with them at court and being one of the three representatives of the company to receive for them, three months later, their payment for their services on that occasion;¹¹ (3) that he seems to have been a warm friend of a number of the members of the company at the time that he made his will in 1616; (4) that that company finally in 1623 published his plays, including a number that have been assigned to the period 1591-1594. The mere statement of the first of these points shows it to be what it is—the merest shadow of a shade. With the second we reach firm ground—Shakespeare *was* a member of the company two years and ten months later than the date of first production of *harey the vj*. But the assumption that because in the following March he, with Burbage and Kempe, represented the company in their dealings with the Court, he therefore had been with them for years, does not necessarily hold. Burbage was one of the two chief tragedians of the day, Kempe the chief comedian, and Shakespeare, after the death of Marlowe, unquestionably the chief dramatist. The recognition was given to position, not to term of service. The argument as to the will in no wise helps us to establish a definite earlier limit of date for Shakespeare's association with his fellows. Finally, the matter of the ownership of the plays in 1623 is not conclusive. It is certain that the *True Tragedy* was once owned by the Earl of Pembroke's Men and that *Titus Andronicus* was performed both by Pembroke's and by Sussex' Men; yet both passed into the hands of Strange's Men and were ultimately included (the former revised into *3 Henry VI*) in the Folio of 1623. What is not conclusive evidence as to their first ownership cannot fairly be considered conclusive evidence as to the first ownership of, say, *Love's Labour's Lost*. In short, there is not in these facts any real proof of Shake-

¹⁰ Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, 34. The italics are mine.

¹¹ D. H. Lambert, *Shakespeare Documents*, 13, quoting MS. accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, Public Record Office, Pipe Office Accounts, 542, Folio, 207b.

speare's connection with the Strange-Chamberlain Company much before Christmas, 1594.

Now, while *1 Henry VI* could not be cited as direct evidence on the subject, the relations between the performance of *harey the vj* by Strange's Men, Nashe's reference to the popular success of the Talbot scenes, Greene's attack on Shakespeare in the *Groatsworth of Wit*,¹² and Chettle's apology to Shakespeare, have

¹² Even at the cost of repetition the reasons must be here summarized why it is impossible to consider the passage in the *Groatsworth of Wit* as accusing Shakespeare of plagiarism in connection with *3 Henry VI*. (1) The very conditions of Elizabethan play ownership make any such allegation meaningless. If a company that owned a play employed a second writer to adapt it to their later needs, they were in the position of a house owner who has certain additions built to his residence by another than the original architect. Under such conditions the original architect has no ground for claiming that the second builder has appropriated his work. Nor is there, to my knowledge, any parallel case of such resentment on the part of any other Elizabethan dramatist toward another playwright for a similar reason. This case would be unique. (2) But Greene says concerning "Shake-scene" merely that he thinks he can write high-sounding blank verse as well as the best of his competitors and that he is egotistical. Greene's use of the *Tygers hart* quotation was under the circumstances quite natural (see *supra*, p. 76). That there is any accusation of plagiarism in it has always been a pure assumption based only on the two preceding assumptions that the *True Tragedy* was largely by Greene and that Greene had already become acquainted with it in the form of *3 Henry VI*, and both of these assumptions are themselves based on the assumption that Greene was accusing Shakespeare of plagiarism—an argument in a circle. (3) The first of these two assumptions, that the *True Tragedy* was largely by Greene, cannot be successfully maintained. The evidence goes to show that it was mainly, and probably entirely, by Marlowe. (4) The second assumption, that Greene knew *3 Henry VI* by September 1, 1592, is extremely unlikely. If it were true that Shakespeare had revised the *True Tragedy* into *Part 3* for any company prior to Greene's death, the dates of the revision and of the original composition would be within some three years of each other at most, and probably only some eighteen months apart—a situation that is in itself improbable. And further it will be shown (*infra*, p. 155, n. 22) that in this case the internal evidence is such as to make it especially improbable, if not impossible, that the revision could have taken place in time for the dying Greene to know of it. But under those conditions, if Greene is referring to Shakespeare's being in any way responsible for the line, it is in connection with the original *True*

always seemed to give a certain tangibility to Shakespeare's assumed connection with the company at that time. But if the present investigation has done nothing else, it should at least have made clear the indisputable fact that there is not one atom of evidence connecting Shakespeare with *harey the vj* or with *1 Henry VI* prior to a date later than February 1, 1593, and that he is thus totally dissociated from all authorial connection with the early success of *harey the vj*. Further, as will be seen, it is highly improbable that by June 23, 1592, he had already revised the *True Tragedy* into *3 Henry VI*; and if he had, it is certain that Strange's Men did not then own that play or they would indubitably have used it as a "trailer" to the popular *harey the vj*. There is therefore here no connection between Shakespeare and Strange's Men. Further, he is not mentioned in the manager Alleyn's *plat* of *2 Seven Deadly Sins* on March 6 of that year; and the assumption that he had one of the two unassigned parts in the Induction is valid only if supported by other positive evidence, which is lacking. Finally, we have the startling fact that,

Tragedy, in which case the accusation of plagiarism disappears, since if Shakespeare wrote it there, no other collaborator in the play wrote it—unless, indeed, it is to be supposed that Greene means Shakespeare borrowed it from some earlier play by Greene now altogether lost, which is "to crack the wind of the poor phrase" with a vengeance. (5) It should be noted in this connection that neither from Meres's list nor from any other source is there any hint that Shakespeare ever claimed, or in his lifetime was generally credited with, any personal authorial interest in any *Part* of *Henry VI*. All responsibility for the matter lies with the survivors of the Strange company, who saw fit to include the three *Parts* in the First Folio seven years after Shakespeare's death. (6) In *Richard III*, which in the technique of its construction and of its coherence devices and in its present metrics is well beyond the Shakespeare of 1592 or the Greene or Marlowe of any period, Shakespeare himself twice capitalized the popularity of the *Tygers hart* speech in the *True Tragedy*. In I, iii, 174-88, in rapid dramatic dialogue he recalls to the mind of the audience in considerable detail the events of the earlier memorable scene, and in IV, iv, 274-78, he not only again rapidly redepicts the scene but even deliberately parallels the line,

To bid the father wipe his eies withall,

the second after the *Tygers hart* line. If Shakespeare had had reason

although on internal evidence the composition of the earliest form of *Love's Labour's Lost* is generally dated "with confidence"¹³ to 1591 or earlier; that of the *Comedy of Errors* to 1591;¹⁴ that of *Romeo and Juliet* to 1591 or 1592,¹⁵ and that of *Two Gentlemen of Verona* variously from 1591 to 1595,¹⁶ and while we know that in 1592 Shakespeare was rising in estimation as a writer, both from Greene's attack, in September, 1592, on the "Shake-scene" who "supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blank verse as the best of you," and from Chettle's tribute, three months later, to Shakespeare's "facetious grace in writing that approves his art," *Strange's Men did not produce one of Shakespeare's plays at any public London performance between February 19, 1592, and February 1, 1593*. The advocate of the view that in 1592 Shakespeare was a member of Strange's company must answer the question how it was that Shakespeare, a young man of twenty-eight, in the most brilliant aggregation of actors of the day, headed by Alleyn and Burbage, young men of twenty-five and twenty-four years of age respectively, did not sell one play to his own company then or apparently earlier, although in the period mentioned

to believe that he had publicly been accused of stealing another man's work in a given passage, he would scarcely, within a short time, have twice publicly repeated the offence with regard to the same passage. On the whole, since the plausibility of the accusation rests upon a combination of two assumptions, both essential, yet each highly improbable, and both deriving their support from an argument *in circulo*; since the very theory of such an accusation is opposed both to the general theatrical method of doing business at the time and to the circumstances of this particular case; and since Shakespeare's own later attitude in the matter is practically a denial of it;—it would seem that the assumed accusation may well be dismissed from further consideration in connection with discussions of Shakespeare's life and work.

¹³ Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, ed. 1916, p. 102. The latter half of 1592, says Mr. H. B. Charlton, *Modern Language Review*, XIII, 257-66, 387-400. September 2, 1591, says Dr. A. K. Gray in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXIX, 581-611.

¹⁴ Lee, 108.

¹⁵ Lee, 111-12. Certainly as early as 1593 or 1594, says Adams (*Shakespeare*, 219).

¹⁶ It is "of the same date" as *Love's Labour's Lost*, says Lee, p. 106. In 1593 or 1594, says Adams, pp. 207-8.

Henslowe's Diary shows that they bought eight, and although they had generally a somewhat weak repertory and out of their first five purchases at least, found only *harey the vj* really a popular success. Was Shakespeare selling such plays as *Love's Labour's Lost* to rival companies when his own was in such straits, and when his salary as an actor was largely dependent upon the prosperity of his fellows? It is inconceivable that he should have done so, or that they should have permitted it. So far as I can see, there is but one answer: *Shakespeare was not at that time connected with Strange's Men.*¹⁷

Where was he? We can only surmise. What few hints there are, however, point toward Pembroke's Men. They were the original owners of the *True Tragedy* and probably also of its first part, the *Contention*, and they were also acting in the old *Titus Andronicus*, *Hamlet*, and *Taming of a Shrew*. While at work on the manuscript of *3 Henry VI*, as copied in the First Folio, Shakespeare personally wrote, in nineteen entries, the names of three actors, "Gabriel," "Sinklo," and "Humfrey," in place of

¹⁷ The internal evidence corroborates these conclusions. We have learned of late years to study Shakespeare as a practical playwright working for a permanent stock company, adapting his characters to the gradually aging Burbage, to the tall boy and the short boy who from 1594 to 1601 impersonated his principal women, to Kempe, and the like. But it has never, to my knowledge been pointed out that the indications of such adaptation to the needs of the Strange company *begin after the period of the early comedies*. In the *Dream* we have the two boys in the rôles of Helena and Hermia (cf. III, ii, 289-343), and the capital part of Bottom for Kempe. But even after revision c. 1598 *Love's Labour's Lost* has only one good comedy rôle in the main plot, Biron, which any competent high comedian could carry; and Don Armado must have been written, not only from recollections of Lyly's Sir Thopas, and possibly also from the tradition of the "fantastical monarcho" who had haunted Elizabeth's court a number of years before, but also with an eye to the abilities of some special actor with a "line" not known to us among the early members of the Strange company. Neither the *Errors* nor the *Two Gentlemen* contains a part for the gigantic Alleyn or a tragic or high comedy rôle especially adapted to the young Burbage; and instead of playing up Kempe, as do the following comedies, they both contain two balanced low comedy servants, the Dromios and Launce and Speed. Further, note that in the list of *The Names of the Principall Actors in all these Playes* in the First Folio Heminges and Condell included the

Sincklo, who was a very subordinate actor in Strange's Company, the names of characters.¹⁸ These actors are usually identified with Gabriel Spenser, John Sincklo (or Sinkler), and Humfrey Jeffes; and there are no other known Elizabethan actors of the quoted names. Spenser and Jeffes were Pembroke men, and Sincklo was recorded on the *plat* of 2 *Seven Deadly Sins* as being in Strange's Company on March 6, 1592. Murray¹⁹ surmises on the basis of this evidence that the two Pembroke Men joined the Strange-Derby-Hunsdon company in 1593. But they do not appear on any of the lists of that company, and they are mentioned together by Henslowe as still calling themselves Pembroke's men in 1597,²⁰ although the last named organization must then have been defunct for some four years. The two men would not have so clung to the name if they had made so important a professional affiliation as that with the Strange-Hunsdon company in the interim. Further, throughout the extended entries in 3 *Henry VI* the two Pembroke men are called familiarly by their first names and Sincklo by his last name only, which hints that the latter is a newcomer with whom the author is not on such easy terms. For these and other reasons²¹ it may be regarded as fairly certain that

names of Phillips, Pope, and Slye, all of whom had long been dead, and Kempe, who had left the company for a rival troupe some quarter-century before; but they did not include the name of Edward Alleyn, although certainly Heminges, and probably also Condell, was a member of the company under Alleyn's management. If the Strange company had owned Shakespeare's early plays in 1592-3, it is difficult to believe that Alleyn would not have appeared in some of them and that, with his histrionic power, he would not have made sufficient impression on his fellow-actors in some rôle to lead them to include a man of his prominence in the important formal list referred to. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the company had acquired the earlier comedies long, if at all, before Alleyn left the organization.

¹⁸ See First Folio under the History Plays, pp. 150, 158. For full details on the subject see A. Gaw, "John Sincklo as a Shakespearean Actor," in *Anglia*, XXXVII, 289-303, and A. Gaw, "Actors' Names in Basic Shakespearean Texts," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XL, 530-550.

¹⁹ *English Dramatic Companies*, I, 66.

²⁰ Greg in *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 90-92.

²¹ See the present writer's outcoming study of *A Comedy of Errors*.

transferred for a time to Pembroke's, and that it was during this period that Shakespeare made the revision of the *True Tragedy*.²² But in late 1593, Pembroke's Men were in desperate straits financially,²³ and thereafter as an organization disappear from view. Apparently at about that time they sold their playbooks, for on the following January 23 Sussex' Men produced the Pembroke *Titus Andronicus* as a "new" play²⁴ (evidently Shakespeare's revision), and on the return of Strange's Men (now the Lord Chamberlain's Men) to London and Henslowe in the following June, we find that company in possession of the Pembroke Men's *Hamlet* and *Taming of a Shrew*, while the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* find their way into print shortly later. It would seem, however, that Shakespeare, although he was playing with the Chamberlain's Men at Christmas, 1594, did not join that organization until at least June 1, 1594, for they were out of London from about February 1, 1593, until the beginning of summer, 1594, and Shakespeare appears to have been in London at the service of Sussex' Men for *Titus Andronicus* about January 23, 1594, and is known to have had his *Rape of Lucrece* regis-

²² This would seem very distinctly to narrow the limits for the date of the revision of the *True Tragedy* into 3 *Henry VI*. Sincklo, being a member of Strange's Company on March 6, 1592, probably was with them throughout their season at the Rose from February 19 to June 23, 1592. Now, it is of course possible that Sincklo was a member of Pembroke's Men prior to February 19; but it is hardly likely that Shakespeare would have been revising Marlowe's work for Pembroke's Men within about a year of its writing and while Marlowe himself was still connected with them, which latter would appear to have been the case until Marlowe began *harey the vj* for Strange's Men not long before February 19. Nor apparently could Shakespeare have made the revision between February 19 and June 23, when, according to the *plat* of 2 *Seven Deadly Sins*, Sincklo was with Strange's Men, and Spenser and Jeffes were not. But between August and December, when Strange's Men were traveling (see *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 51-2), and probably according to custom with a reduced company, it would be natural that Sincklo should transfer to Pembroke's Men if possible. It is probable, therefore, that Shakespeare revised the *True Tragedy* at some time between June 23, 1592, and the dissolution of Pembroke's Men about September, 1593; i. e., after the last date when Greene could have seen the play on the stage.

²³ See Murray, I, 65ff.

²⁴ *Henslowe's Diary*, I, 16.

tered with the Stationers' Company on May 9 of the same year. If, therefore, the Strange-Chamberlain company purchased a number of the Pembroke play-books in the autumn of 1593, there would have been a period of some nine months during which the company would have owned the plays prior to Shakespeare's joining that organization in the following June.

This exactly fits the indications with regard to *I Henry VI*. It has been shown²⁵ that V, iii*b*, is to be assigned to Shakespeare, on the grounds both of technique and of poetic qualities. But I cannot find that the last scene of the present play, V, v, that which most unmistakably contains the link element, shows any trace of Shakespeare's hand. Its basis is a passage in the *Chronicles* open to anyone; its conception of Margaret is not built upon Shakespeare's playful Margaret of V, iii*b*; its King is inconsistent with the child-King of V, i, 21-23,²⁶ and his concluding desire to "revolve and ruminat his grief" does not fit the preceding play and is dramatically bad even for the scene in which it occurs; the mention of one-tenth as the tax assigned to Suffolk for his expenses in bringing Margaret to England is inconsistent with the correct figure of one-fifteenth that Shakespeare had inserted in the *Contention* while revising it into *Part 2*,²⁷ the versification is not so skilful as that of V, iii*b*; and the scene contains but 2.0 per cent. of feminine endings, an average impossibly low for Shakespeare. Yet on the other hand, it must be insisted, V, v, was not present in the original *harey the vj*. That play, lacking II, iv, and V, iii*b*, contained in its dialogue no previous hint of the existence of either Suffolk or Margaret; and it is impossible to believe that in it a fourth fragmentary plot element should have suddenly appeared in a final scene of only 108 lines—a scene that, in the period of the play's early popularity, could have had no possible function but to point forward to, and advertise, another play produced by the Strange company's chief rivals. This isolated link scene following the natural ending, the conclusion of peace, and so oddly set apart in the Folio as a separate and fragmentary

²⁵ Pp. 29ff.

²⁶ See above, p. 32.

²⁷ I, i, 133.

Act, must have been appended in order to connect *harey the vj* with *Parts 2* and *3*, and at the time when such connection was first needed, namely, in the nine months following the Strange-Chamberlain Men's acquisition of the latter two plays from the bankrupt Pembroke company in the autumn of 1593 and preceding the date of Shakespeare's joining the company.²⁸ It is logical to suppose, on the basis of the internal evidence concerning the date of V, *iii*b, that not long after Shakespeare became *the* resident playwright of the Chamberlain's Men in the summer of 1594, he turned to the (to him) new *Part 1* and strengthened the unity and coherence of the trilogy by introducing here in person the Margaret of the *Parts* upon which he had been at work some year or more before,²⁹ thus both presenting the beginning of the relation between Margaret and Suffolk that has so important a place in the following sequence, and incidentally giving greater bulk and finish to the new ending. The two periods that the evidence indicates as the dates of Shakespeare's revision, then, coincide with the two dates when he would most probably have his attention especially directed to *1 Henry VI*, namely, about 1594, immediately after first being brought into touch with the play that had become a part of the series the later *Parts* of which he had previously revised, and about 1599, when, after having completed *1* and *2 Henry IV* and *Henry V*, and having in the Epilogue to the play last named referred specifically to *1 Henry VI*, he would most naturally turn once more to the crudest of the earlier series and endeavor to make it more worthy of its place in the sequence.³⁰

²⁸ Who was employed for the interpolation it seems now impossible to say. Marlowe had been killed June 1, 1593; and neither the spirit, the style, nor the spellings of the test word, *Gloucester* and *Glocester*, fit him. Both style and metrics forbid assignment of it to B., and if B. was Greene, he had been dead since early in September, 1592. Peele was still at work, and the 2.0 per cent. of feminine endings agree with Peele's average in *Edward I*; but I cannot feel that the style is at all typical of Peele.

²⁹ I leave the question of *Richard III* here untouched.

³⁰ At the end of this section must be appended a note upon the new theory concerning the history of the Strange company and of Shakespeare's relations with it recently advanced by Mr. E. K. Chambers in his *Elizabethan Stage* (II, 95, 120-131, 201, 307). According to this view,

VII. THE RELATION OF THE FOLIO SCENE DIVISION TO
THE AUTHORSHIP

And now, is there any explanation for the eccentric scene division of the Folio text? A glance at the table on page 159 will suggest that the following is what occurred. So long as Marlowe and B., the original writers, were adjusting their own parts in the final assembling of Acts I and II, the matter was simple, involving as it did only two persons, and therefore no numbers were inserted. In Act III, however, matters were complicated by the addition of the two scenes that formed the work of C., and probably also by the necessity for splitting the original III, iv, to permit of the insertion of the earlier Vernon-Basset quarrel at III, ivb. Numbers were therefore inserted in Act III merely for the convenience of the writers, in order to clarify the situation.

the *plat* of *2 Seven Deadly Sins*, with its list of the company, belongs to a hypothetical production of c. 1590 at the Theatre; Burbage was not one of Strange's Men at the Rose in 1592; by June, 1592, Shakespeare had already, as indicated by the so-interpreted testimony of Greene, revised *harey the vj* into *1 Henry VI* for Strange's Men, with whom he was therefore already connected; during the plague of the summer and fall of 1592 Strange's Men split into two smaller companies for traveling, one of the two being known as Pembroke's Men; Shakespeare went with the Pembroke combination, revising for them *2* and *3 Henry VI* in the winter of 1592-3, at the same time writing for them *Richard III*, and by January, 1593, also finishing for Strange's Men *The Jealous Comedy* recorded by Henslowe at that date (which play Mr. Chambers considers to have been probably *A Comedy of Errors*); in the summer of 1593 the bankrupt Pembroke Company sold their plays to Sussex' Men, the plays including *The Taming of a Shrew*, the Strange Men's *Titus and Vespasian*, *Buckingham* (which Chambers would identify either with *Richard III* or with *Henry VIII*), and the *Contention* (assumed to have been originally owned by Strange's Men as a sequel to *harey the vj*); in early 1594 Shakespeare was acting with Sussex' Men, and for them revised *Titus and Vespasian* into *Titus Andronicus*; and all these plays were sold to the Strange-Chamberlain Men about June, 1594, at which time Shakespeare and Burbage also became members of the reconstituted company.

I have already given my reasons (*supra*, p. 2, n. 2, and p. 27, n. 34) for believing that the *plat* of *2 Seven Deadly Sins*, including the mention of Burbage, can belong to a date no earlier than March 6, 1592, and gives the constitution of the Strange company at that time; and these

SUMMARY OF THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SCENES OF 1 HENRY VI

Folio Scene Division	Modern Scene Division	Contents of Scenes	Author in <i>hary the vj</i>	Shakespeare's Participation
ACT I				
Sc. i (a)	I, i.....	Funeral of Henry V at London; Gloucester and Winchester quarrel; news of French revolt; news of capture of Talbot.....	Marlowe.....	Slight additions.
(b)	I, ii.....	Joan of Arc meets the Dauphin near Orleans.....	B.....	
(c)	I, iii.....	Gloucester and Winchester quarrel before the Tower of London.....	Marlowe and B.....	
(d)	I, iv.....	Talbot and Salisbury on Orleans turret; Talbot swears to avenge Salisbury.....	B.....	
(e, f)	I, v-vi.....	Joan and the French take Orleans.....	B.....	
ACT II				
Sc. i (a, b)	II, i-ii.....	The English recapture Orleans.....	B.....	Entirely new.
(c)	II, iii.....	Talbot foils the Countess of Auvergne.....	B.....	
(d)	II, iv.....	York and Somerset quarrel in Rose Garden.....	Marlowe.....	
(e)	II, v.....	Mortimer death scene.....		
ACT III				
Sc. i (a)	III, i.....	Gloucester accuses Winchester before King. York is restored to his rank.....	Marlowe.....	LL. 1-40.
(b)	III, ii.....	Exeter's first soliloquy.....	Marlowe.....	LL. 50-56?
(c)		Joan's stratagem and the torch in the turret; the French take Rouen; the English recapture it; Bedford dies.....	C.....	
Sc. ii	III, iii.....	Joan wins D. of Burgundy back to France.....	C.....	
Sc. iii		Talbot is made Earl by the King in Paris.....	B.....	
Sc. iv (a)	III, iv.....	Vernon and Basset quarrel in behalf of York and Somerset.....	Marlowe.....	
ACT IV				
Sc. i (a)	IV, i.....	The King is crowned at Paris; Talbot tears the Garter from knee of Fastolfe.....	B.....	Largely rewritten Largely rewritten Interpolations. Rewritten. Largely an interpolation.
(b)	IV, ii.....	York and Somerset take up quarrel of Vernon and Basset; are reproved by King.....	Marlowe.....	
(c)		Exeter's second soliloquy.....	Marlowe.....	
(d)		Talbot's army is trapped near Bordeaux.....	Peele.....	
(e)	IV, iii.....	Messenger (Lucy) appeals to York to aid Talbot.....	Peele.....	
(f)	IV, iv.....	Lucy and Captain appeal to Somerset.....	Peele.....	
(g, h)	IV, v-vi.....	Talbot and his son in battle.....	Peele.....	
(i)	IV, vii, 1-50.	Talbot and his son are slain.....	Peele.....	
(j)	IV, vii, 51-96	Lucy recovers Talbot's body; eulogizes Talbot to French.....	Peele.....	
Sc. ii	V, i.....	Gloucester obtains King's consent to peace and King's betrothal to daughter of Earl of Armagnac; Exeter's third soliloquy; Winchester pays Pope for Cardinalship.....	Marlowe.....	
Sc. iii (a)	V, ii.....	French army is intercepted by English.....	Peele.....	Entirely new. LL. 36-54.
(b)	V, iii, 1-44.	Joan conjures; is captured by English.....	Peele.....	
(c)	V, iii, 45-195.	Suffolk woos Margaret of Anjou for King.....	Peele.....	
(d)	V, iv.....	Joan is condemned to the stake.....	Peele.....	
(e)	V, v.....	Winchester for England concludes peace.....	Peele.....	Added, not by Shakespeare.
ACT V		Suffolk induces King to wed Margaret.....		

Finally, Peele had written his material in one long act—compare his method in *Edward I* and *David and Bethsabe*. Into this MS of Peele's it was necessary to insert Marlowe's final Gloucester-Winchester scene (modern V, i) after Talbot's death, where dramaturgically it belonged. It was accordingly numbered (Folio) IV, ii, and the preceding and succeeding sections of Peele's MS were marked scenes i and iii respectively, thus giving Act IV a long scene i (the Talbot death series, now 363 lines), Marlowe's brief scene ii of 62 lines, and a long scene iii (the present V, ii, iii*a*, and iv) of 240 lines, dealing with the burning of Joan and the conclusion of peace. Either then or later it was thought best to treat B.'s long second section of the coronation scene (IV, i*a*; split off from the original III, iv, by the insertion of Marlowe's first Vernon-Bassett quarrel, III, iv*b*) as the beginning of a new Act, possibly to give a brief pause for some change of costume and thus to secure greater stage effectiveness for its stage spectacle, and possibly also because of its lengthening by the addition of Marlowe's IV, i*b*. The scene thus formed (now IV, i) was therefore merely placed in Act IV before the Talbot death

pages have been written to little purpose if it has not been demonstrated that neither *1 Henry VI* nor Greene can possibly link Shakespeare with the company in 1592. The theory that Pembroke's Men were simply a branch of Strange's Men temporarily split off is ingenious, but rests wholly upon the hypotheses that Shakespeare was one of Strange's Men in 1592, that the Strange company's *Titus and Vespasian* passed from them through the hands of Pembroke's Men to Sussex' Men, where it became *Titus Andronicus*, and that the *Contention* was originally owned by Strange's Men and given by them to Pembroke's. The first of these hypotheses is wholly without support and contrary to all probability; the second is a mere conjecture upon very slender basis; and the third is, I believe, demonstrably false in the light of the play's recorded absence from the stock repertory of Strange's Men at the time when it would be most profitable, namely, between the date of the first success of *harey the vj* on March 3, 1592, and the date of the supposed splitting-off of Pembroke's Men from Strange's Men over four months later. Further, *The Jealous Comedy* is not to be connected with *A Comedy of Errors*, which latter is a play of mistaken identity rather than of jealousy, and which I shall elsewhere show to be Shakespeare's only in part, and to present no probability of having had any connection with the Strange-Chamberlain company until 1594. (*The Jealous Comedy* is much more

scenes (the original IV, i) without further altering the numbering of the scenes in the Act, thus giving a still longer and more heterogeneous Scene i to Act IV in the Folio. It is a significant fact that not a scene-numbering appeared in (Folio) Act IV (present IV, i, to V, iv) except those that would naturally arise in the shift of (present) IV, i, and the insertion into the D. series of Marlowe's (present) V, i, in the manner described. Finally, the play was later given the orthodox five acts by attaching the legend "Act V" to the link ending (now V, v) added to make the *First* and *Second Parts* a series.

Thus the difficulty that formed Fleay's chief "evidence" for believing the Talbot death scenes a Shakespearean interpolation³¹ disappears, and the keystone of the hypothesis by which he assigns one of the oldest and crudest parts of the play to the hand of the master falls to the ground. These death scenes were not inserted after the present IV, i, in revision; the present IV, i, was shifted to a position before them in Act IV as a result of the interpolation of III, ivb, in the assembling of the original manuscript.

probably the basis of *Merry Wives of Windsor*, as suggested by Prof. Adams, *Shakespeare*, 233.) Neither will the proposed identification of *Buckingham* with *Richard III*, or with *Henry VIII* bear close examination; in *Richard III* the Duke pales into insignificance before Richard himself both in plot structure and in characterization, and in *Henry VIII* Buckingham goes out to execution very early in the play (at the end of II, i), and moreover the versification of much of his dialogue bears the impress of Fletcher's hand and thus places those passages late in Shakespeare's career. The belief that Sussex' Men purchased more plays from Pembroke's Men than the original of *Titus Andronicus* is emphatically negated by an examination of the repertory of Sussex' Men during their last disastrous month at the Rose, when they were certainly playing their best cards from a very poor hand and when, of the plays known to have been owned by Pembroke's Men, only the revised *Titus Andronicus* appears (see Henslowe's *Diary*, ed. Greg, I, 16-17).

In short, I regret that I can agree with Mr. Chambers only in the points that Shakespeare was once a member of Pembroke's Men; did revise *Titus* for Sussex' Men, though probably as a free lance dramatist; and did join the Strange-Chamberlain company, c. June, 1594.

³¹ See p. 12.

IV

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS: THE PROBLEMS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP

Let us now review in chronological order what the preceding investigations indicate to be the facts concerning the origin of *1 Henry VI*.

1. It may be considered certain that the scenes in the present play (V, iii \bar{b} , and V, v) that serve as link passages to *Part 2* did not have any place in the original *hærey the vj*; that in its original form the play was a wholly independent and isolated work; that, despite Fleay's view of its date and authorship, Greene in 1588-90 was not capable of writing the blank verse in any part of the drama; that the Talbot death scenes were not as a whole a later interpolation by Shakespeare, but in the main were an important part of the original material; that certainly up to the end of 1592, and probably up to June, 1594, Shakespeare had not made any interpolation whatever in the play; and that Greene's reference to "Shake-scene" in early September of 1592 therefore has no bearing whatever upon the subject, while Nashe's allusion in *Piers Penniless* is a matter wholly aside from the point of the date of Shakespeare's connection with the drama. Despite the long series of suggestions from Malone down, placing the date of composition of the original form of *1 Henry VI* in 1589 or earlier, there is not a scintilla of evidence that it was written prior to 1592, and if Greene had any hand in it, such a date as 1589 is a frank impossibility.

2. The combined evidence of Henslowe's records of the repairs to the Rose early in 1592; of the gradual evolution of the turret as indicated in the successive maps and panoramic views of Elizabethan London; of what is known of the history of the Elizabethan theatres prior to 1592; of the fire scenes in *2 Tamburlaine* c. 1588 and the manifest delay in staging that play at the Rose in 1594-95 despite the recorded popularity of its fore-piece,

1 Tamburlaine; of the obvious relations of Strange's Men to their new theatre; of the striking parallel between the details of the view from the "turret" at Orleans in *1 Henry VI*, I, iv, and the view from the turret of the Rose, and of the Rose only among Elizabethan theatres of 1592; of the evident interest of at least two, and probably also a third, of the original authors of *1 Henry VI* in the turret of the play, and of the fact that in their stage directions these two refer to the turret in different terms as if the theatrical name of the structure had not yet been established;—all this is strongly indicative that when, in February, 1591-2, Strange's Men moved across the river to the Rose, the stage turret was then a novelty in the Elizabethan theatre, and had just been added to the equipment of that house.

3. The internal evidence in the play, coupled with the extant records and other known facts concerning the company, points to the following as a reasonable interpretation of what happened in the course of the composition of *harey the vj*. Strange's Men, on the point of moving in winter to a location to which London theatre-goers were little habituated, had especial need for a new and sensational play. Incidentally, it was advisable that the new turret, if possible, be "featured." These facts were probably evident well before the company opened at the Rose. Their manager, Edward Alleyn, naturally turned for a new play to Marlowe, who had conceived some of Alleyn's most celebrated rôles. On account of the shortness of time Marlowe associated with himself B. (possibly Greene), and decided to utilize the dramatic opportunities in the Chroniclers' accounts of the early part of the reign of Henry VI, concluding with the burning of Joan of Arc and a declaration of peace. Following his natural bent and the line of his recent experience in the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*, and apparently basing upon Halle or Grafton, Marlowe chose to develop the kindred character studies of Winchester and York, and their conflicts with their respective antagonists Gloucester and Somerset; while B., basing upon Holinshed, began work on the more popular Talbot story with its opportunities for external stage action, and modified Holinshed's account in order to introduce his hero *via* the turret. As the two continued work, a third

collaborator, Peele, was joined to the other two, probably owing to the necessity of *Strange's Men* for haste; and he was put to work at a point two-thirds of the way through, being assigned the conclusion of B.'s plot materials, namely, the end of the Talbot story (in which he certainly followed Halle or Grafton), the end of the Joan story, and apparently the scene of the conclusion of peace. Meanwhile, a fourth writer, C., who may have been Nashe, contributed a second turret scene (III, ii) and the scene succeeding, in one passage verbally following Halle and in general violently wrenching history to suit his purposes. In the haste of finally assembling the various sections of the new drama, the eccentric original division into four acts, and the muddled scene numbering later copied in the Folio, arose in the manner previously outlined.¹ The respective contributions of the four original authors by scenes are as given in the table on page 159. The marked inconsistencies in character and incident, the unusual diversity in sources, and the inequalities in treatment of sources and in style, in *1 Henry VI* arise largely from this hasty quadruple collaboration, which likewise accounts for the wide divergence of opinion that has existed among critics as to the authorship of the play.

4. Inasmuch as all evidence, external and internal (including the strange parallel between the imagined topography of Orleans in I, iv, and the actual relation of London, the Tower of London, and London Bridge to the Rose, and the Rose only among London theatres of the day) points to the play's having been first produced during the early engagement of *Strange's Men* at that house; and inasmuch as it is known positively that *Strange's Men* were not then playing any possible Talbot play other than that entered by Henslowe as *harey the vj*; it may, in the judgment of the present writer, be accepted as an established fact that the first production of the material of *1 Henry VI* in any form on any stage occurred on Friday, March 3, 1591-2, when, according to Henslowe's records, the play of *harey the vj* began its strikingly successful opening season. It then consisted only of the scenes listed in the fourth

¹ *Supra*, pp. 158-161.

column of the table on page 159. The rôle of Talbot was played, certainly not by Alleyn, but probably by Richard Burbage.

5. The *True Tragedy* Shakespeare revised into the form of *3 Henry VI* pretty certainly between June 23, 1592, and August, 1593; and it is likely that at the same time the *Contention* became what we know as *Part 2*. Later, probably at some time not long after August, 1593, these two *Parts* passed from the hands of Pembroke's into those of Strange's Men, and the new owners of course wished to use them as a sequel to their popular *harey the vj*. Someone was then engaged to write a new link ending (V, v) for *harey the vj*, in which ending, based on the Chronicles, were first introduced into the play the character Suffolk and references to Margaret, both prominent in *Part 2*. After Shakespeare had joined the company as its dramatist, probably about June 1, 1594, he increased the unity of the trilogy and the finish of the play by interpolating the non-historical V, iiib, in which Margaret also appears in person and the intimate relations between her and Suffolk are shown in their inception. About 1599 Shakespeare, after having finished *1* and *2 Henry IV* and *Henry V*, again turned his attention to *1 Henry VI*, adding the non-historical Temple Garden scene (II, iv) expanded from hints in Marlowe's II, v; and revising to greater or less extent III, i, 1-40; IV, ib, ii, iii, iv, viib; and V, iva; but apparently without especially consulting any historical record except that of the inscription on Talbot's tomb. By his revision he laid a more substantial dramaturgic foundation for the Wars of the Roses in the *Henry VI-Richard III* tetralogy, increased the original emphasis upon the catastrophic effects of national disunion, added a touch of dignity to Joan in her final scene, and by the earlier appearance of Suffolk in the play and the greater maturity of the boy King improved the coherence of the drama and somewhat disguised the falsity of the link-ending, V, iiib and v. He probably also retouched at other places, such as I, ii, 133-137, and III, ii, 50-51. These changes give us *1 Henry VI* in its present form.

6. How long after 1599 *1 Henry VI* remained on the boards it is impossible to say. Unless decidedly modified as to the turret scenes and the use of ordnance, it could not have been played in

the roofed audience chamber of the Blackfriars, the winter house of the company after 1608. The fact that the original author's manuscript survived the fire at the Globe in 1613 suggests the probability that it had fallen into disuse and was lying in the manuscript room of the Blackfriars. However this may be, it was preserved and was ultimately published in the First Folio in 1623, the compositor certainly working immediately from the original composite MS.

On thus concluding our examination of *1 Henry VI* we may call attention to the fact that the considerations entering into the solutions of the two problems of date and authorship are basically independent. The positive elements entering into the question of the date are: the records in Henslowe's *Diary* as to the history of the plays of the company; the internal evidence of the structure of the drama; the discrepancies in characterization, style, and dramatic method freeing the link scenes II, iv; V, iii*b*; and V, v, from the original play; the internal evidence of the two turret scenes, together with the background facts concerning the latter; and the evidences of haste in the play wholly aside from the question of who were its original authors. The elements entering into the solution of the problem of authorship are: the relations in material, treatment, echoed passages, metrics, and style between certain sections of *1 Henry VI* and the *Contention*, the *True Tragedy*, and other works of Marlowe; the dramaturgic and stylistic links within these sections of *1 Henry VI* themselves; and the existence in the various parts of the play of many consistently grouped characteristic differences in subject matter, sources, characterization, style, and versification completely supporting the evidence of the differences in spelling of certain proper names in the original text, as first pointed out by Fleay, and in entire harmony with the evidence of the odd act-and-scene-division in the First Folio.

These two lines of investigation are fundamentally separate, each relying for acceptance of its results upon its own independent merits. Yet they are at all points harmonious, and are in the large complementary and mutually corroborative. The need for haste apparent in the facts of the very recent reconstruction of the

Rose, of the current receipts of the company, and of the known date of production of the play early in the period of the company's stay at the Rose, makes clear the unwonted willingness of Marlowe to collaborate, supplies the motive for the extraordinary quadruple authorship, and explains the generally low standard of artistry in the work and the unreconciled discrepancies between the respective contributions of the various collaborators. Moreover, the removal of the false ending (V, *iiib*, v) added to the isolated original play, *harey the vj*, and conversely, the restoration to the original play, and to Marlowe's material, of the Mortimer death scene (II, v), make the work more compatible with the theory of Marlowe's relationship with it as demanded by the general internal evidence. On the other hand, the facts of the composite authorship naturally and completely account for the divergence between the style of the couplets in the Talbot death-scenes and that of the rest of the play, and also for the eccentricities in the act-and-scene division of the Folio, the two considerations that led Fleay to erroneous conclusions as to the date, the history, and in part the authorship of the play; and further, the separation from the original Talbot death series of the superimposed material from Shakespeare's hand dating from c. 1599, and the tracing of the continuation of the couplet impulse of IV, v-vii, in the originally immediately succeeding D. passage, V, ii, cut the ground from under Fleay's hypothesis that Shakespeare was concerned in the *harey the vj* of 1592. Most striking of all is the fact, which could in no wise have been predicted, that the interest in the turret both appears at the first entrance of the chief hero in the work of B., and forms the starting-point for the scenes of C., while it is also at least hinted at in the present form of the opening passage from the pen of D. The compound nature of the present investigation thus in itself gives a kind of double check on the main conclusions presented. And, to conclude, the evidence adduced and the conclusions arrived at fit naturally into the known facts and logical probabilities concerning the lives and careers of Marlowe and Shakespeare during the period discussed.

Incidentally to the foregoing investigation of the origin and early history of *1 Henry VI*, we have, it would appear, attained certain other results of some importance.

1. It has been shown that Shakespeare could not have been a member of Strange's Men in 1592, but seems rather to have been connected with Pembroke's Men.

2. The history of 2 and 3 *Henry VI* has been somewhat illumined, the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* being best dated, apparently, to 1591, and their revision by Shakespeare being assigned, on more certain evidence than has hitherto been available, to the period between June 23, 1592, and the autumn of 1593.

3. The mythical character of Greene's supposed allegation in the *Groatsworth of Wit* that Shakespeare plagiarized from him in 1 or 3 *Henry VI* has been demonstrated. Such an interpretation of the *Tygers hart* passage is certainly chronologically impossible as to 1 *Henry VI* and almost certainly so as to *Part 3* also, while on other grounds as well the theory is logically and factually fallacious.

4. Shakespeare's memory is relieved of an old reproach. He is cleared of all responsibility for the abusive elements in the treatment of Joan of Arc except for the fact that he did not give a thorough-going revision to the original portrait of her, in which respect his attitude toward the Joan story was identical with his attitude toward the play as a whole, that it was something established in popular favor, to be improved so far as convenient but not radically modified. Yet he did insert in (modern) Act V the only moment of elevation that she has in the latter part of the play, a passage of some twenty lines in her final scene that goes far to relieve the effect of Peele's defamatory treatment of her.

5. Mr. A. W. Pollard's very important theory as to the typical continuity of the Elizabethan individual theatrical manuscript and its relation to the basic published Shakespearean texts finds striking corroboration. In 1 *Henry VI* we have a clear case of a composite manuscript, the joint product of several authors and bearing unmistakable marks of their respective idiosyncrasies as to spelling,—a manuscript that later underwent interpolation or revision by another hand twice, and probably three times, and that finally, thirty-one years after its first penning, passed legitimately from its undoubted theatrical owners to the compositor of the basic text in the Folio of 1623.

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VIEWS OF ELIZABETHAN THEATRES

As it has proved impracticable to reproduce in this volume the series of Elizabethan views discussed on pp. 42-51, I supply the following list of recent works in which copies of them may be conveniently examined. The reproductions are of varying degrees of merit as to clearness of extremely minute detail, but as a rule will serve the reader's purpose. See also the excellent bibliography of E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, II, 353-55.

- Norden map (1593): Stephenson, *Shakespeare's London*, 68-69. Detail of the "Beare howse" and the "playhowse" (the Rose); Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, 147.

- Delaram portrait (c. 1604): Adams, 246.
- Hondius' view (in Speed's *Atlas*, 1611): Adams, 149 (but the round theatre is the First Globe, not the Rose); Thorndike, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, 33; Baker, *Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*, f.p.
- DeWitt sketch of the Swan (1596): Thorndike, 51; Adams, 169; Stephenson, 312.
- Visscher view (c. 1614; published 1616): Ordish, *Shakespeare's London*, 44 (or p. xiv). Theatre section of same; Thorndike, f.p. Detail view of Bear Garden; Adams, 127; Baker, 175. Detail view of Second Globe; Adams, 253 (where it is marked First Globe); Baker, 175. Detail view of Swan: Adams, 165.
- "Ryther" map in Crace collection (1636-45?): Baker, 36-37. Details of Fortune and The Theatre: Baker, 125, 135.
- Merian view (1638): Adams, 256.
- Baker's *Chronicle*, insert on t.p. (1643); Adams, 147.
- Hollar's view (1647): Thorndike, 222. Detail of Second Globe and Hope: Wilson, *Life in Shakespeare's England*, 75. Detail view of Hope, Adams, 326; Ordish, 226. Detail of Second Globe: Adams, 260.
- Hollar's (?) view (in Howell's *Londinopolis*, 1657): Baker, 155; Thorndike, 20.

INDEX

- A.*: Scenes, 67; discussed, 72-108; 108, 109, 116, 118; scenes of mixed *A.* and *B.* authorship, 118-120; 125, 143, 145, 159 (table).
- Adams, J. Q.: 2 *n.* 1, 15, 16 *n.* 16, 43 *n.* 50, 52 *n.* 64.
- Admiral's Men: 21, 22, 39, 56 *n.* 72, 82, 83, 83 *n.* 34, 84.
- Alleyn, Edward: 2, 2 *n.* 2, 3 *n.* 2, 21, 22, 54, 55, 55 *n.* 71, 62, 82, 83, 108, 122, 151, 152, 153-154 *n.* 17, 163, 165.
- All's Well that Ends Well*: 146 *n.* 2.
- Alphonsus of Arragon*: 18, 42 *n.* 48, 123, 124 *n.* 32.
- Arden of Feversham*: 73.
- As You Like It*: 146 *n.* 2.
- Armagnac, Earl of (*character*): 24, 25, 27, 70, 71, 94.
- Auvergne, Countess of: 23, 69, 108, 121.
- B.*: 67, 72; 94, 98-99; *B.* scenes discussed: 108-124; *B.*'s typical balanced line, 112-115; scenes of mixed *A.* and *B.* authorship, 118-120; was *B.* Greene? 121-124; 125, 143, 145, 157 *n.* 28, 158, 159 (table), 160, 163, 164, 167.
- Baker's *Chronicle*: 44, 45.
- Baker, G. P.: 14 *n.* 8, 16 *n.* 20, 50.
- Balanced line test: 85-86, 102-3, 109, 123, 146-147, 146-7 *n.* 3.
- Basset (*character*): 70, 99, 100, 158.
- Battle of Alcazar, The*: 4, 21, 86.
- Bedford, Duke of (*character*): 62-63 *n.* 79, 91, 138, 142, 143.
- Boas, F. S.: 14 *n.* 8.
- Brandes, G.: 14.
- Brooke, C. F. Tucker: 5, 10, 14 *n.* 4, 14 *n.* 8, 15, 16, 74, 74 *n.* 16, 84 *n.* 37, 85, 86 *n.* 46, 91 *n.* 51, 96, 131 *n.* 13, 133 *n.* 22.
- Buckingham*: 158-161 *n.* 30.
- Burbage, Richard: 2 *n.* 2, 3, 3 *n.* 2, 62, 149, 152, 153 *n.* 17, 158 *n.* 30, 165.
- Burgundy, Duke of (*character*): 25, 41, 63 *n.* 79, 70, 71, 111, 142, 144.
- C.*: 67, 72, 108, 109, 115, 120, 124, 125, 138; the *C.* scenes: 141-145; 145, 158, 159 (table), 164, 167.
- Chambers, E. K.: 2 *n.* 2, 43 *n.* 50, 44 *n.* 53, 157-161 *n.* 30.
- Charles, Dauphin of France (*character*): 41, 63 *n.* 79, 97, 116, 126-127, 128, 136, 137.
- Chettle, Henry: 6, 150, 152.
- Coleridge, S. T.: 88.
- Collins, J. C.: 18 *n.* 26.
- Comedy of Errors, The*: verse tests: 87, 104, 117; 152, 153 *n.* 17, 158-161 *n.* 30.
- Contention . . . of Yorke and Lancaster, First Part of*: 7, 9, 10, 14, 28, 64 *n.* 1, 74 *n.* 16; date of, 75-82; 83, 85; verse tests, 87; quoted, 90-91; 89 *n.* 49, 91, 94 *n.* 62, 95, 97, 100 *n.* 77, 103, 104, 106, 107, 120, 153, 155, 156, 158-161 *n.* 30, 163, 165, 166, 168.
- Court performances: 3 *n.* 2.
- Creizenach, W.: 14.
- Cymbeline*: 41 *n.* 47, 42 *n.* 48.
- D.*: 68, 72; 104 *n.* 96, 108, 109, 116, 120; *D.* scenes, 124-141; *D.* is Peele, 139-141; 145, 159 (table), 160, 161, 164, 167.
- Daniel, P. A.: 20.
- David and Bethsabe*: 160.
- Dekker, Thomas: 54 *n.* 71.
- Delaram, portrait of James I: 43, 45, 46, 48, 50, 51.
- De Witt, Johannes: 42, 46, 49 *n.* 61, 50, 54 *n.* 69, 57, 62 *n.* 79.
- Dido, Queen of Carthage*: 73, 74.
- Dr. Faustus*: 60 *n.* 76, 73, 83; date of, 83, 83 *n.* 34; 94 *n.* 62, 106 *n.* 1, 107.

- Edward I*: 86, 139-141, 157 n. 28, 160.
Edward II: 72, 73, 82, 85; verse tests, 87; 90, 91, 107, 107 n. 4.
Euphues: 35 n. 40.
Every Man in His Humour: 42 n. 48.
 Exeter, Duke of (*character*): 26, 32-33, 33 n. 38, 60, 69-70, 91, 93; his soliloquies, 95-98, 100.
- Fabian, Robert: 61, 142.
 Faithorne Map: 44.
 Falstaff, Sir John: 147.
 Fastolfe, Sir John (*character*): 23, 25, 70, 98, 99, 108, 110, 118, 143.
 Fire, use of, in *2 Tamburlaine*: 52-53, 57 n. 72.
 First Folio: 8, 64-66, 166, 167.
Five Plays in One: 3 n. 2, 28 n. 34.
 Fleay, F. G., his theory of the history of *1 Henry VI*: 12-14; the theory considered, 15-36; 22; his theory of the authorship of *1 Henry VI*, 66-68; the theory examined, 68-161; 72, 108, 121, 138, 138 n. 31, 161, 162, 166, 167.
Four Plays in One: See *2 Seven Deadly Sins*.
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay: 3, 21, 85, 121, 123, 123 n. 26, 124, 124 n. 32.
 Furnivall, F. J.: 20.
- Geoffrey of Monmouth: 142.
George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield: 123, 124 n. 31.
 Gervinus, G. G.: 28 n. 35.
 Gloucester, Duke of (*character*): 22; his part in plot, 23; 24, 25, 26, 28, 33 n. 38, 36, 69-71; Gloucester-Winchester scenes, 72-98; in *The Contention*, 77-82; 97; *A's* and *B's* Gloucester-Winchester scene, 119-120; 126, 160-163.
 Grafton, R.: 129 n. 5, 163, 164.
 Gray, H. D.: 16, 84, 92, 101, 121, 131-132, 136, 144 n. 20.
 Greene, Robert: 1, 3, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 35 n. 40, 67, 68, 74, 80, 83 n. 34, 84, 85, 120; possibly *B.*, 121-124; 125 n. 33, 132, 138, 145, 148, 150; did not accuse Shakespeare of plagiarism, 150-152 n. 12; 152, 157 n. 28, 158-160 n. 30, 162, 163, 168.
- Greg, W. W.: 2, 4, 4 n. 4, 6, 21 n. 29, 53, 54 n. 71.
Groatsworth of Wit, A.: 1, 10-11, 20, 74, 76, 121, 121 n. 22, 150; passage in, does not accuse Shakespeare of plagiarism, 150-152 n. 12, 168.
- Halle's *Chronicle*: 61, 93, 94, 95, 109, 116 n. 94, 118 n. 7, 129, 129 n. 6-7, 133-134, 142, 142 n. 10, 163, 164.
Hamlet: 34 n. 39, 85, 132, 153, 155.
Harey the vj: 4, 4 n. 4; an early form of *1 Henry VI*, 5-7; 12, 15, 28, 33; originally without V, iii b, and V, v, 35-36; 64 n. 1, 75 n. 16, 81, 82, 83, 97, 100 n. 76, 149, 150, 151, 153, 155 n. 22, 156, 157, 158-161 n. 30; summary of history, 162-168.
Harry of Cornwall: 4 n. 4.
 Hart, H. C.: 16, 16 n. 15, 124 n. 33.
 Henneman, J. B.: 17 n. 23.
1 Henry IV: 7, 148, 157, 165.
2 Henry IV: 7, 147, 157, 165.
 Henry V, King (*historical character*): 25, 38, 80, 86, 96, 132, 157.
Henry V: 8, 9, 104, 106, 132, 133, 146, 147, 165.
 Henry VI, King (*character*): 3 n. 2, 5, 6, 8, 22, 23, 24, 25; played by a child actor, 26; 27, 28 n. 34, 32, 34, 35, 36, 61, 69-71, 77, 93, 96, 99, 101, 165.
- 1 Henry VI*: 1, 2; a revision of *harey the vj*, 5-7; 8, 9; date of, 12-62; 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21; plot analyzed, 22-25, 36; departures from chronological order in, 25-26; present ending an addition, 27-35; peculiar act-and-scene division, 34-35; not written in sequence with *2 Henry VI*, 35-36; staging of turret scenes, 36-61; heterogeneous in sources, 61; first produced as *harey the vj* March 3, 1592, 61; Chambers' view of staging of, opposed, 62-63 n. 79; authorship of, 64-145; condition of MS, 64-

- 66; synopsized by scenes, 69-71; *A.* scenes examined, 72-108; 76, 78, 80; Marlowe's traits in, distinguished from Shakespeare's, 84-88; Winchester - Gloucester scenes, 87-98; 107-8; York scenes, 87-88, 98-108; *B.* scenes examined, 98-99, 108-124; *D.* scenes examined, 124-141; *C.* scenes examined, 141-145; survey of authorship, 145; dates of revisions, 146-157; authorship tabulated, 159; act-and-scene division accounted for, 158-161; summary of history of, 162-168.
- 2 *Henry VI.*: 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 22, 27; not owned by Strange's Men in 1592, 27-28 *n.* 34; 28, 29, 32, 36, 80, 86, 96, 101 *n.* 80, 103, 105, 156, 157, 158 *n.* 30, 161, 165, 168.
- 3 *Henry VI.*: 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 20, 27; not owned by Strange's Men in 1592, 27-28 *n.* 34; 86, 96, 105, 149, 150 *n.* 12, 151, 153-154; date of revision from *True Tragedy*, 155 *n.* 22; 157, 158 *n.* 30, 165, 168.
- Henry VIII.*: 158-161 *n.* 30
- Henslowe, Philip: 2, 4, 5, 18, 22, 53, 55, 55 *n.* 71, 56, *n.* 71, 57 *n.* 72, 61, 83, 120, 153, 154, 155, 162, 164, 166.
- Hero and Leander*: 74.
- Holinshed's *Chronicle*: 37, 39, 56, 58, 59, 61, 71 *n.* 12, 92, 106 *n.* 1, 108-9, 116, 118, 118 *n.* 7, 129, 134, 137, 142, 148, 156, 163.
- Hollar, Wenceslaus: 47, 47 *n.* 57; his *View of London* (1647), 44, 47, 49; his (?) *View of London* (1657), 44, 49 *n.* 61.
- Hondius' Map: 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 51, 54 *n.* 71.
- Jack Straw*: 35.
- James IV.*: 86, 121; *B.*'s balanced lines in, 122 *n.* 25, 123.
- Jealous Comedy, The*: 158-161 *n.* 30.
- Jefferes, Humphrey: 153-154.
- Jeronimo, Comedy of*: 3, 6, 27 *n.* 34.
- Jew of Malta, The*: 3, 4, 5, 21, 56, 72, 73, 82, 83, 84 *n.* 37, 85, 86 *n.* 46; verse tests, 87; 90, 91, 94 *n.* 62, 106 *n.* 1, 107, 107 *n.* 4, 108.
- Joan of Arc: her part in plot: 22, 23; 24, 25, 27, 36, 38, 40, 41, 61, 63 *n.* 79, 69-71, 88, 106 *n.* 1; treatment by *B.*, 110-111, 116-17, 122; treatment by *D.*, 126, 127, 136-137, 140; interpolation by Shakespeare, 137-138; treatment by *C.*, 142, 143, 144; 159, 163, 165, 168.
- Jonson, Ben: 54 *n.* 71; an actor, 55 *n.* 71, 59.
- Kempe, William: 3, 149, 153-154 *n.* 17.
- King John*: 86, 148.
- Kyd, Thomas: 3, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 67, 121, 144.
- Lee, Janet: 9.
- Lee, Sir Sidney: 15, 16.
- Lodge, Thomas: 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 35 *n.* 40; not in England when *harey the vj* was being written, 36 *n.* 40, 121; 68, 120, 122, 138, 138 *n.* 31, 139, 148.
- London Bridge: 59, 59 *n.* 74, 164.
- Looking-Glass for London and England, A.*: 18, 21, 123.
- Love's Labour's Lost*: 30, 31, 31 *n.* 36, 88, 148, 149, 152, 152 *n.* 13, 153, 153 *n.* 17.
- Lucan*: 89, 91.
- Lucy, Sir William (*character*): 23, 70, 126-128, 130, 134, 135.
- Lyly, John: 35 *n.* 40, 120, 148.
- Mabie, H. W.: 16.
- Margaret of Anjou (*character*): 16; her part in plot, 24; 25, 26, 27, 28, 30-34, 35, 70-71; in *Contention*, 77, 79; 124, 147, 156, 157, 165.
- Marlowe, Christopher: 3, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 29, 35 *n.* 40, 60, 67, 68, 72; chronology of his plays, 73-84; his traits distinguished from Shakespeare's, 84-88; his part in *1 Henry VI*, 88-108, 118-120; 109, 119, 125, 125 *n.* 33, 126, 138, 139, 144, 145, 146, 149, 151 *n.* 12, 157 *n.* 28, 158, 160, 163, 165, 166, 167.

- Masefield, John: 15, 16.
Massacre at Paris, The: 21, 72;
 date of, 74-75; 75 n. 16, 82, 85;
 verse tests, 87; 90, 94 n. 62.
 Master Gunner of Orleans and
 Boy (*characters*): 37, 39, 56,
 57, 59, 109-110.
 Matthews, B.: 14 n. 8.
Measure for Measure: 146 n. 2.
 Merian View: 43, 44, 45, 46, 47,
 48, 49 n. 61, 54 n. 71.
Merry Wives of Windsor, The:
 161 n. 30.
Midsummernight's Dream, A: 148,
 153 n. 17.
 Millington, Thomas: 14, 64 n. 1.
 Morgann, Maurice: 14 n. 7.
 Mortimer, Earl of March (*charac-
 ter*): 16, 34 n. 39, 69; death
 scene, authorship of, 102-107;
 167.
Muly Mollocco: See *Battle of Alca-
 zar, The*.
 Murray, J. T.: 16 n. 20.
 Nashe, Thomas: 5, 6, 6 n. 7, 10,
 12, 17, 18, 20, 24, 62, 97, 120,
 121, 122, 125 n. 33, 129, 139, 144,
 144 n. 20, 145, 148, 150, 162.
 Neilson, W. A.: 91 n. 16.
 Norden Map: 43, 45, 49, 53, 54
 n. 70.
Orlando Furioso: 21, 124, 124 n.
 32.
 Peele, George: 9, 10, 12, 13, 14,
 15, 16, 17, 19, 35 n. 40, 67, 68, 84,
 120, 121, 125 n. 33; the *D.* scenes,
 124-141; 132, 138; Peele is *D.*,
 139-141; 144 n. 20, 145, 146, 157
 n. 28, 160, 163, 168.
 Pembroke company, the: 8, 13, 82,
 83, 108, 149; was probably
 Shakespeare's company in 1592-3,
 153-157; Chambers' theory con-
 cerning, 157-161 n. 30; 165, 168.
Piers Penniless: 5, 6 n. 7, 12, 162.
 Plague: 4, 158 n. 30.
 Pollard, A. W.: 64 n. 1, 168.
 Queen's Men, the: 12, 13, 14, 17,
 21, 22, 36, 122.
Rape of Lucrece, The: 155.
 Reignier, "King" (*character*): 28,
 29, 137.
Richard III: 17, 76 n. 21, 85, 86,
 86 n. 46; verse tests, 87; 96, 105,
 129 n. 7, 147, 148 n. 6, 151 n. 12,
 157 n. 29, 158 n. 30, 165.
 Rolfe, W. J.: 5.
Romeo and Juliet: 88, 148, 152.
 Rose Garden scene (II, iv): 16,
 33; reasons for attributing it to
 Shakespeare, 33 n. 39; 69, 88,
 101, 103, 105, 107, 131, 147, 165.
 Ryther Map: 44.
 Salisbury, Earl of (*character*): 25,
 37-39, 57, 58, 60 n. 75, 61, 69, 78,
 80.
Satiromastix: 54 n. 71.
 Schelling, F. E.: 5, 15.
2 Seven Deadly Sins: 2 n. 2, 3 n.
 2, 6, 21; attempt to use it as se-
 quel to *harey the vj*, 27-28 n. 34;
 62, 151, 154, 158 n. 30.
 Shakespeare, William: 1, 3, 6, 7,
 8, 10; author of Talbot death
 scenes, says Fleay, 12-14, 68; 15,
 16, 17, 19, 20, 31, 33, 35, 61, 80,
 81 n. 30; traits distinguished
 from Marlowe's in *1 Henry VI*,
 84-88; 89, 91; his share in the *A.*
 scenes, 92, 101, 106, 107; 96, 98,
 100 n. 76, 116, 117, 125 n. 33, 126,
 128, 129, 129 n. 7, 130-131, 131 n.
 13, 133, 134, 135, 138, 139, 140,
 143, 144, 145; his revisions, 146-
 157; 148; his professional affilia-
 tions in 1592-4, 148-157; not ac-
 cused by Greene of plagiarism,
 150-152 n. 12; 156, 157; Cham-
 bers' theory of his relations with
 Strange's and Pembroke's Men
 opposed, 157-161 n. 30; 162, 165,
 167, 168.
 Shakespearean interpolations and
 revisions: 12-13 (wrongly as-
 cribed); 29-32, 33-34, 33 n. 39,
 92, 96-98, 127-129, 131-133, 134-
 135, 137 n. 29, 137-138, 139, 143,
 145, 159 (table), 161, 165, 167.
 Sinklo (Sinkler), John: 153-155,
 155 n. 22.
 Somerset, Duke of (*character*):
 22; his part in plot, 24; 33, 36,
 70-71, 93; authorship of Somers-
 set scenes, 93, 98-107; 130, 135,
 163.

Spanish Tragedy, The: 3, 4, 5, 21, 27 n. 34, 35, 56.

Spelling tests: 35 n. 40, 64; as stated by Fleay, 67-68; corrected tabulation of, 69-71; reëxamined, 71-72, 98, 107 n. 5, 108, 116, 119, 125, 137, 140, 141, 166.

Spenser, Gabriel: 153-154.

Stage, position of, in Elizabethan theatres: 48-50, 48 n. 60.

Strange - Hunsdon - Chamberlain Men: 1, 2, 2 n. 2, 3 n. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 17, 20, 22, 27; Rose remodeled for them, 53-54; 59, 60, 60 n. 74, 74, 80, 82, 83, 108, 122, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153-154 n. 17, 154, 155, 155 n. 22, 156, 157-161 n. 30, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168.

Suffolk, Earl of (*character*): 16; his part in plot, 24; 27, 28, 30-34, 36, 70-71; in *Contention*, 79; 147, 156, 157, 165.

Summer's Last Will and Testament: 144.

Sussex' Men: 14, 124 n. 31, 149, 155, 158-161 n. 30.

Talbot epitaph: 61, 127-128, 135, 146, 165.

Talbot, Lord (*character*): 5, 6, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22-23, 25, 27, 36; first appearance in play, 36-40, 57-59, 60; originally impersonated by Richard Burbage, 61-62; 62-63 n. 79. 68, 69-71, 88, 92, 98, 99; traits of *B.'s* Talbot scenes, 108-116; 117, 118-19; traits of Peele's Talbot scenes, 125-136; 140, 143, 145, 146, 150, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167.

Talbot's son, John (*character*): 70, 129, 130, 131.

Tamar Cam: 21.

1 *Tamburlaine*: 27, 29, 57 n. 72, 73, 89, 90, 91, 100 n. 77, 107 n. 4, 108, 163.

2 *Tamburlaine*: 27, 29, 52, 56, 56-57 n. 72, 72, 73, 102, 106 n. 1, 107 n. 4, 162.

Taming of a Shrew, The: 153, 155, 158 n. 30.

Tempest, The: 41 n. 47.

THEATRES

Bear Garden: 43, 44 n. 53, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54; plays presented in, 54-56 n. 71, 59 n. 74.

Blackfriars: 166.

Curtain: 8, 44, 45, 51, 52, 54, 54 n. 69, 59 n. 74.

Fortune: 39, 39 n. 42, 42, 56 n. 71.

I Globe: 8, 39, 43, 43 n. 51, 44 n. 53, 46, 48, 51, 55, 60 n. 74, 166.

II Globe: 43, 43 n. 53, 44, 46-47, 48, 50, 51.

Hope: 42, 44, 44 n. 53, 47-48, 49, 51, 54 n. 71, 56 n. 71.

Rose: 2, 2 n. 2, 3, 4, 7, 22, 27, 43, 44, 45-46, 48, 50, 52; remodeled for Strange's Men, 53-54; 56 n. 71, 57 n. 72, 58, 59, 73 n. 14, 161 n. 30, 162, 163, 164, 167.

Swan: 6 n. 7, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 59 n. 74.

Theatre, The: 2 n. 2, 44, 51, 52, 52 n. 64, 54, 54 n. 69, 59 n. 74.

Theatre Inns (Bell, Bull, Cross Keys): 48 n. 60, 51.

Three Plays in One: 3 n. 2, 28 n. 34.

"Tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's [player's] hide": 11, 75-76, 76 n. 21, 80, 82; does not accuse Shakespeare of plagiarism, 150-152 n. 12, 168.

Titus Andronicus: 14, 148 n. 6, 149, 153, 155, 158-161 n. 30.

Titus and Vespasian: 158-160 n. 30.

Tooley, Nicholas: 3 n. 2.

Tower of London: 59, 164.

True Tragedy of Richard Duke of Yorke, The: 7, 9, 10, 14, 64 n. 1, 74 n. 16; date of, 75-82; 80, 83, 85; verse tests, 87; quoted, 89-91; 89 n. 49, 91, 91 n. 50, 100 n. 77, 104, 106, 107, 107 n. 5, 109, 149, 150-152 n. 12, 151, 153, 155; date of revision into 3 *Henry VI*, 155 n. 22; 163, 165, 166, 168.

Turret of theatre: 37, 39, 40; historical investigation of, 41-61; use in first turret scene, 36-40, 56-60; use in second turret scene, 40-41, 142; 144-145, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166.

Twelfth Night: 146 n. 2.

- Two Gentlemen of Verona*: 31 *n.* 36; verse tests, 87; 104, 117, 152, 153 *n.* 17.
- Vernon (*character*): 70, 99, 100, 158.
- Verse tests: 84-85, 84 *n.* 37, 86 *n.* 46, 87, 88, 89, 92, 93, 99, 101, 104, 109, 116, 117, 119, 123, 124 *n.* 31, 130, 135, 138, 139-140, 143-144, 146, 148, 156.
- Visscher's *View of London*: 43; date of, 43 *n.* 53; 45, 46, 48, 50, 51, 53, 54 *n.* 71.
- Ward, A. W.: 5, 14 *n.* 4, 15.
- Wendell, B.: 15.
- White, R. G.: 15, 20, 139.
- Winchester, Cardinal of (*character*): 22; his part in plot, 23; 25, 26, 28, 29, 36, 60, 69-71; Winchester-Gloucestre scenes, 72-98; in *The Contention*, 77-82; confusion of Bishop and Cardinal, 94, 95, 97; 106, 106 *n.* 1, 160, 163.
- Worcester's Men: 21.
- York, Duke of (*character*): 22, 23; his part in plot, 24; 34 *n.* 39, 36, 69-71, 77, 91, 93, 96, 97; authorship of York scenes, 93, 98-107; 130, 134, 135, 138, 142, 163.